SOME BARBARIC ELEMENTS IN CAROLINGIAN ART

An Evaluation of Keltic Germanic and Steppe Influences in the Art of the West

Text

by

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Preface

The Carolingian art of the ninth century provides the last opportunity to study the survival of artistic elements of the barbaric Kelts and Germans before their integration into the art of the West. During the ninth century Northern barbaric art was fused with the Christian art of the Latin West, foreshadowing the first great synthesis of Western art which was to come with the Romanesque. It is the object of this enquiry not only to examine the barbaric contribution to Carolingian art, but to show how the barbaric legacy was integrated into the art of Western Europe.

It goes without saying that this study could not have been undertaken without the pioneer work of scholars like Boinet, Goldschmidt, Merton, Rand, Köhler, and others, which has laid out the detailed development of Carolingian art. The excellent study of Roger Hinks has proved invaluable for the stylistic study of both the Northern and Mediterranean aspects of the art of the Carolingian period, while the works of Åberg, Leeds, Kendrick, and Kühn have been vital for the study of the barbaric sources of Carolingian art. I want to take this occasion to thank those whom I was trained in the United States. I want to particularly thank Professor John, Shapley, Professor A.T. Olmstead, Dr. Neilson Debevoise, Dr. Brieger, and Dr. F. Saxl. Above all I want to express my greatest thanks to Professor D. Talbot Rice under whose guidance and kindly direction this thesis was carried out at the University of Edinburgh

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

The study of the role of the Northern barbaric elements in the formation and development of Carolingian art is necessary because it has hitherto been assumed that the art of the ninth century in the lands between the Loire and Rhine was virtually a renaissance of Roman elements and ideas. While late antique sources and the contributions of contemporary Byzantine art have been exhaustively explored, little attention has been paid to the role exercised by the barbaric arts of Northern Europe. Though Carolingian art is distinguished from the earlier Merovingian just because of the predominance of Classical elements, the barbaric contribution cannot be ignored; indeed a close examination of the arts, especially those of metalwork and manuscript illumination, shows it to have been quite important. It is the object of this inquiry to examine this barbaric contribution to Carolingian art.

The presence of barbaric influence is to be traced in several distinct ways. Firstly we can discern it in technique, secondly in design, and thirdly, very occasionally, in actual finished works of art, which are more barbaric than Carolingian although they date from just before or after A.D. 800. While objects in this latter catagory, such as the Enger reliquary and the older Lindau cover, are few and far between, barbaric techniques and motives are more numerous, playing a significant role in Carolingian art. In the process of tracing them, it will

in many cases be necessary to examine the history of particular styles or motives, in order to discover if their origin was truly barbaric or if they were merely Germanic or Keltic adaptations of Mediterranean and Oriental elements. Those Northern motives and techniques proper to barbaric art, which survived in court and ecclesiastical art, must similarly be followed until they are assimilated into Carolingian art of the later ninth century. The impact of the German style on Carolingian art must be studied in order to determine not only whither Northern barbaric art had the power to transform the spirit of Mediterranean forms, but to trace how it was itself transformed under the influence of the antique revival style which dominated the art of the ninth century.

It must always be remembered that Northern barbaric elements were subordinate in Carolingian art because this art was to a great extent imposed from above by a ruler determined upon the conscious revival of antique culture. Northern taste was seldom able to overpower Christian art and cast aside its essential forms and motives for those traditional in barbaric art. The Church provided the plans for its buildings, and the models for its reliquaries, metalwork, ivories, paintings, and manuscripts. It insisted upon forms traditional within the framework of Western Christianity. Furthermore, great sections of the Empire were occupied by the French and Italian descendants of a Romanized provincial population who retained a deep-

rooted taste for the representational art of the Mediterranean world.

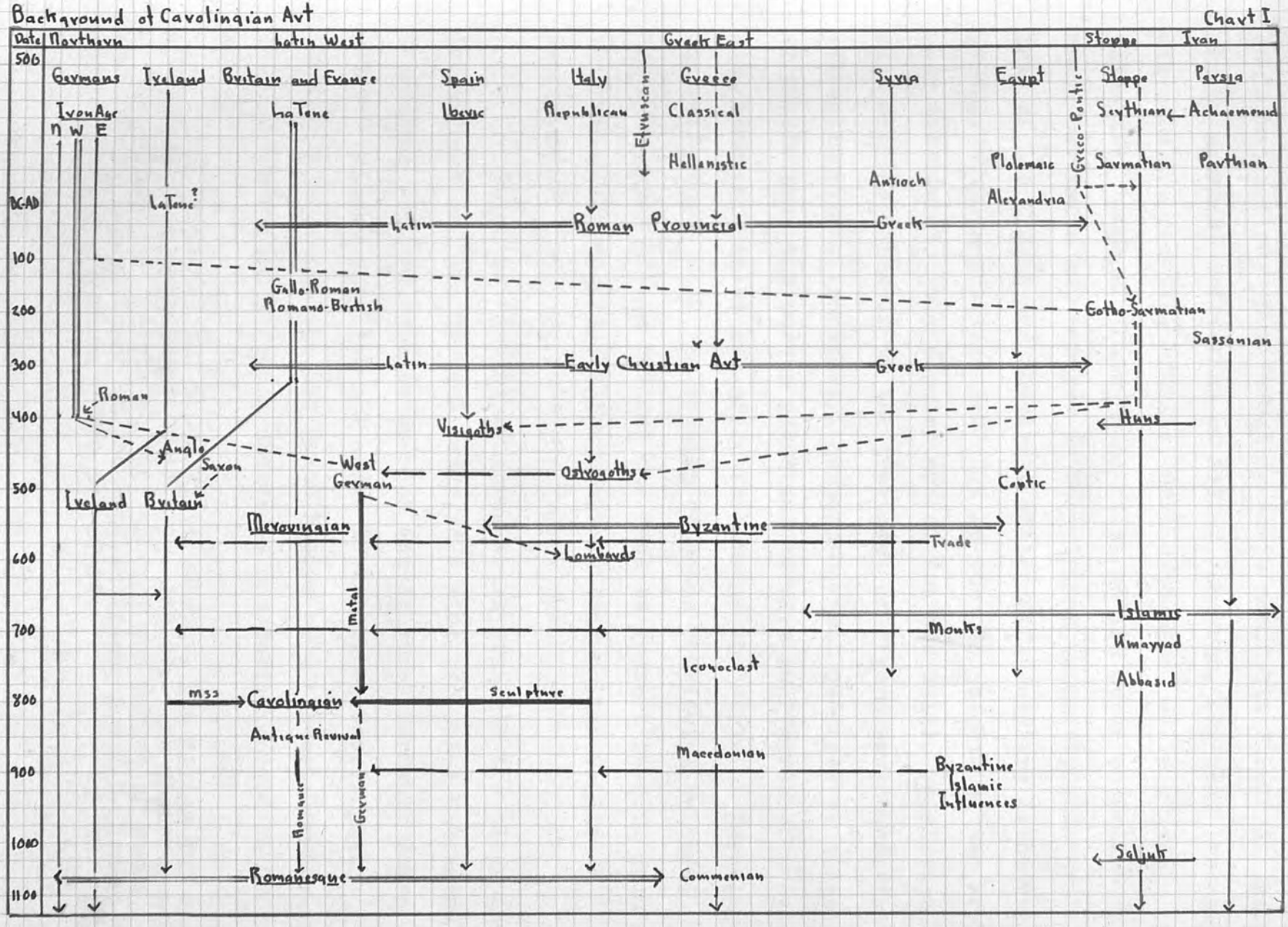
Nevertheless the German population possessed an art of their own; this undoubtedly survived in contemporary peasant arts, of which practically nothing is known. Their art found its way into the art of the Church as converted Germans entered the monastery ateliers. While they could hardly change the traditional character of Christian art, they could express their artistic taste not only in the choice of techniques and motifs, but in the rendering, which often transformed the entire aesthetic meaning of a Christian theme. This can be seen in their ready acceptance of motifs from Island manuscripts and Lombard sculpture. Northern barbaric art tended to play its most significant role in the essentially ornamental arts of metalwork and manuscript illumination rather than in the monumental arts of architecture and mural painting or in arts such as ivory carving which were part and parcel of the antique revival. Moreover, of all the Carolingian arts, only metalwork and manuscript illumination provide evidence that is at all complete for tracing objective elements such as motifs and techniques. Even here the themes and many of the motifs have been imposed by the Church, which makes the determination of stylistic effects a highly subjective matter.

In order to place the barbaric elements in their proper relationship to the antique, Christian, and Oriental

elements which formed the core of the Church art of the Latin West, and to the Northern arts before the ninth century, one must examine briefly the foundations of Carolingian art. One must begin with the substratum of native Gallic art, which was overlaid by Roman provincial culture. This complex was Christianized and shot through with Oriental elements brought west by traders, monks, and pilgrims. With the fall of the Roman Empire in the West, barbaric elements were brought in by Germanic invaders. During the Merovingian age, these diverse cultures and arts reveal the essential particularism of the time. One must think in terms of Lombard, Visigothic, Burgundian, Alemannic, Frankish, and Church art until the Carolingian renaissance provided a unified art suitable for an empire which embraced the whole of the West.[1] (See Chart I).

The substratum of Gallic art, which was covered over by a veneer of Roman provincial art, possesses elements which go back through La Tène, Hallstatt, and the Bronze Age times to the

[1] For various concepts of the task of the Carolingian renaissance see L. Bréhier, L'art en France des invasions barbares a l'époque romane (Paris,1935), pp. 112-122, who has an excellent summary of the diverse elements of Merovingian art which went into the Carolingian renaissance. R.Hinks, Carolingian Art (1935), pp. 209 ff., points out the importance of the Carolingian revival of antique art for the unification of Western art. One cannot accept in toto the theory that the creative period for western unity lay in Merovingian times. See Brehier, pp. 173 ff.,H. Pirenne, Mahommet et Charlemagne (1937), pp. 123-6., and N. Åberg, The Merovingian Empire, The Occident and Orient in the Art of Seventh Century, Part III, Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del. 56:3 (1947), pp. 5-8 . P. Lavadan, Histoire de l'Art, Clio X (1944), p.135.


Background of Carolingian Art
Chart I
Date
Northern
Latin West
Greek East
Steppe
Iran
500
Germans
Iceland
Britain and France
Spain
Italy
Etruscan
Greece
Syria
Egypt
Steppe
Persia
Iron Age
N W E
La Tene
Iberic
Republican
Classical
Hellenistic
Ptolemaic
Greco-Pontic
Scythian
Achaemenid
Sarmatian
Parthian
Antioch
Alexandria
BC-AD
La Tene?
Latin
Roman
Provincial
Greek
100
Gallo-Roman
Romano-British
Goth-Sarmatian
200
Sassanian
300
Latin
Early Christian Art
Greek
Roman
400
Visigoths
Huns
Angle
Saxon
West
German
Ostrogoths
500
Iceland
Britain
Coptic
Merovingian
Byzantine
600
Lombards
Trade
Islamic
700
Metal
Monks
Umayyad
Iconoclast
Abbasid
800
MSS
Carolingian
Sculpture
Antique Revival
Macedonian
900
Byzantine
Islamic
Influences
Romanic
German
1000
Seljuk
Romanesque
Commenian
1100

Neolithic period. Native Gallic taste manifests itself in the use of ornament consisting of fillet, chevron, zig-zag, lozenge, six-petalled rosette, spirals, double volutes, and stylized palmettes. Some of these geometrical motifs occur on Gallo-Roman pavements and survive in Merovingian ornament, such as that of the frieze and archivolt of the fifth century Cathedral of Puy. Gallic practice can also be seen in the use of the arch over the lintel. The popular art of the old Gallic population also manifests itself in the treatment of figure sculpture. The conventionalism, frontality, and symmetrical gestures of statues of Keltic gods and mother goddesses survive in figures of provincial funerary stelae and often foreshadow the style of Merovingian sculpture. With the breakup of Roman provincial culture, the indigenous native culture was free to reasert itself. Much of Pre-Romanesque art has its roots in this native Gallic substratum.[1]

Roman provincial culture, which overlaid the older and traditional culture of Gaul, exerted a wide influence extending from Italy through Gaul to Rhenish and southern Germany. Roman art and culture affected all areas of the later Carolingian empire, except for the Low Saxon region of northwest Germany. This latter region was only conquered and Christianized in

[1]Bréhier, pp. 9 ff. Victor Chopot, Les styles du monde romain antique (Paris,1943), pp. 117 ff. This phenomenon of the survival of native culture through the period of Roman occupation is paralleled in the British Isles. See T.D. Kendrick, Anglo-Saxon Art (London,1938), pp. 47 ff.

Charlemagne's day. Roman provincial art dominated the West for over four hundred years. Before the fall of the Western Empire it had undergone much transformation. In the years of decadence after the mid-third century crisis, Roman provincial art with its figure style and its taste for a perceptual and naturalistic floral ornament was not only modified by a resurgence of native Gallic art but by the influx of Oriental ideas. With the fourth century and the official recognition of the Christian faith came the art of the Church, which added further Mediterranean elements. On the eve of the Germanic invasions, the West already possessed an increasingly eclectic art based on a native substratum overlaid not only by antique elements derived from every quarter of the Roman Empire which clustered around the Mediterranean sea, but by the new art of the Christian church. Although incoherent and unorganized because it was too early for synthesis in these turbulent times, this was the antique and Christian heritage of the Merovingian age.

The fifth century invasions of the Goths, Vandals, Burgundians, and Franks shattered the last remnants of Roman power in the West. While Spain fell under the Visigoths, Britain under the Anglo-Saxons, and Italy under the Ostrogoths, Gaul was divided between the Franks, Burgundians, and Visigoths. Expanding from their homeland in northeast France and the Rhineland, the Franks conquered first the Kingdom of Syagrius (A.D. 486) and then Aquitania from the Visigoths (A.D. 507). The

kingdom of the Burgundians, which lay along the Rhone, was conquered in 532 and 534. To the east, the Franks had taken over the lands of the Alemanni in southwest Germany as early as 496 - 502. By the middle of the sixth century, the Merovingian Franks held all of Gaul except Septimania on the Mediterranean and all of western Germany except the lands of the Low Saxon tribes. It must be remembered, however, that their rule was based on military conquest rather than settlement.

German occupation based on settlement occurred only in Belgica, the provinces of Germania, and the traditionally German lands beyond the Rhine. (See Map I). Frankish Settlement, which penetrated westward to the Somme and southwards to the headwaters of the Maas, was only to achieve permanence in the Low Countries and along the Rhine. The Alemanni held and settled southwest Germany, Alsace, and Switzerland. To the east, the Low Saxons, Thuringians, and Bavarians occupied the lands extending to the Elbe-Saale-Böhmerwald line, which demarcated the frontier between the Germans and Slavs. In France, the settlements of the Burgundians along the Rhone, and of the Visigoths in southwestern France were of little lasting importance and did not alter the basic character of the Gallo-Roman people and their culture. The impact of the barbarian invaders had little effect on art and culture in areas which were conquered but not settled by the Germans. The Christianized Gallo-Roman culture continued to maintain the dominance of Mediterranean elements in

Map I Romance and Germanic Peoples in the Carolingian Empire

Germanic Peoples
Frontiers A.D. 814 ---
Romance Peoples
Frontiers A.D. 880 -·-

areas where provincials formed the bulk of the population. This is true in all Gaul except the east and northeast.

The barbaric art and culture of the Germanic invaders were short-lived even in the areas which they effectively occupied by settlement. The arts of the Franks, Alemanni, and Bavarians, which are known from remains found in graves of still pagan Germans, have a heterogeneous origin. Their traditional Bronze and Iron age cultures were influenced Roman provincial elements during the first centuries of our era, when they lived along the Rhine just beyond the Roman limes. The acquired the scroll and meander designs from provincial art and utilized them to decorate their jewellery before the full Migration era. Kerbschnitt (slant carving derived from wood), which has been ascribed to both Romans and Germans, may well have been used by both peoples. Whatever its origin, it was certainly in use among the Germans at home and among those who served as auxiliaries in the Roman army. With the fifth century invasions, artistic elements such as the Steppe cloisonné, inset stone work, filigree, and animal motifs were brought west by the invading Goths and Vandals. They were adopted, transformed, and put to use by the West Germans. The second phase of Migration art among the Franks, Alemanni, and Burgundians was marked by the disappearance of Kerbschnitt and the meander motif, the continuation of cloisonné, filigree, and inset stone work, and the elaboration of the famous Salin II Thierornamentik

(animal ornament). By the late seventh century, barbaric German art on the continent was in full retreat before Christianity and the arts of the Church. The fantastic zoomorphic ornament, which had been compounded of animal forms and interlace borrowed from Mediterranean sources, died out along with the fibulae and other typical forms of Migration jewellery. Nevertheless, the techniques of cloisonné, filigree, and inset stone work, which the West Germans had borrowed from the Goths, who in turn had borrowed them from the Sarmatians and the Greco-Pontic cities, survived to be used on circular brooches and belt buckles of the late seventh and early eighth centuries. By the end of the eighth century, this ornament had given way to an impoverished one based upon the use of Christian symbolism.[1]

The destruction of the barbaric art of the Germans resulted from their conversion during the sixth and seventh centuries. Although the formal vehicles of Migration art died out, many of their techniques and motifs, which were particularly suitable in metalwork, shifted into the hands of the Church. While it cannot be proven in terms of documentary evidence, Germans during the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries must have entered the monastery shops to help and finally to make altars, book covers, reliquaries, and chalices. By Carolingian times, Germans were taking not only an active, but a leading role in the arts and crafts. Einhard, who was commissioner of

[1]For a detailed survey of Migration art see Chapt.III.

works and director of the imperial workshops, was not only a political and intellectual leader, but a practicing artist and above all a metalworker. His pupil Vussin may well have been the Magister Wolvinius who made the imposing altar of St. Ambrose at Milan.[1] During the Merovingian age, the Germanization of the Church, which must have been marked by the influx of German monks and artisans as well as bishops, is illustrated by the fact that while only two bishops with German names attended the Church Council held at Orleans in 511, forty-one of the seventy-nine bishops attending the Council at Paris in 614 were German.[2] Germanic arts and crafts must have been taken into the monastery atelier when the Germans joined the Church and became her monks, craftsmen, and bishops.

The problem of the influence of the British Isles on the art of the continent during Merovingian and Carolingian times has been the subject of much controversy.[3] Many of the older scholars believed that in the sixth century a wave of Irish monks spread through Britain to France, Switzerland, and North Italy. They or their successors would have introduced an Irish style of manuscript illumination, which was characterized by the ornamental use of interlace and knotwork, spirals and trumpet patterns, and zoomorphs. Although most of the early Irish manuscripts have

[1] Hinks, pp. 108-9.

[2] Åberg, p. 16.

[3] For a summary of the controversy over the status of Island influence see Chapter IV.

disappeared, they insist that the limited interlace and knotwork of Italo-Byzantine, Lombardic, and Merovingian manuscripts were due to Irish influence. Other scholars, however, would account for these elements on the continent in terms of Mediterranean influences, the same influences which were to spread north to inspire the use of interlace and knotwork in the British Isles. This whole problem involves the even more difficult issue of the status of Lombard interlace in stone, stucco, and metal, and the spread of interlace designs which played a role in the formation of the Salin Style II ornament of the Burgundians, Alemanni, Franks, Anglo-Saxons, and North Germans.

If one ascribes the simple interlace elements of the mid-eighth century manuscripts of the Merovingian schools of Lyon, Luxeuil, Fleury, Corbie, and northeast France to Mediterranean rather than Irish influence, Island influences must be placed in the late eighth and early ninth centuries. During this period, Anglo-Saxon and Anglo Irish monks were directing their energies toward the conversion of the Germans beyond the Rhine. Their manuscript art, which preserved both Germanic and Keltic elements within the framework of a Mediterranean tradition imposed by the Church, caught the imagination of the Germans. Both in a sense shared a similar ornamental concept of art. It is interesting to note that the Island style did not greatly effect continental art, where it was in the hands of the descendants of the old provincial population.

The conglomerate art current on the continent in the last chaotic days of Merovingian rule awaited a unifying principle. This was to be provided by the systematic return to the traditions of antiquity in Carolingian times. The bringing together of the diverse elements, -,Gallo-Roman, Christian, Oriental, German, and finally Island, - inherited from Merovingian times required more than the learned principles and discipline of a court. It demanded peace and stable political conditions. The chaos of the early eighth century, when the warring of the houses of Neustria, Austrasia, Burgundy, and Aquitania allowed the Arabs to advance into the heart of France, was gradually put down by Charles Martel after his victory at Tours. Although the victories of Charles Martel guaranteed freedom from external attack, and the work of Pepin strengthened the position of the Frankish monarchy, the time was not ripe for cultural revival. This was not to come until the latter years of Charlemagne's reign after the wars against the Saxons, Danes, Slavs, Avars, and Moslems had secured peaceful conditions for the Christian West. At its height the Carolingian empire held sway over all the Christian West, except the British Isles and southern Italy. This political unity, reinforced by the unifying influence of the Church, made possible the beginnings of medieval Christian unity.

The reign of Charlemagne was a critical time for the West. The cultural revival, which blossomed first at the court,

was characterized not only by the revival of interest in classical learning, literature, and art, but also by enthusiastic, though short-lived, political and ecclesiastical reforms. All this is reflected in architecture, mural painting, manuscript illumination, and metal work. There was a conscious use of antique principles, although these were interpreted in a manner in keeping with the spirit of the age. The beginning of a unified art is evident in the compromise between antique taste, with its emphasis on perceptual figure art and naturalistic ornament, and Northern taste with its interest in pattern and ornamental effects. Out of this developed the beginning of a unity which was to provide a common basis for the Christian art of the West.

The art and culture which was created at the court of Charlemagne by men like Alcuin, Theodulf, and Einhard spread to regional ecclesiastical and administrative centers like Tours, Orleans, Trier, Fulda, Reims, Metz, Corbie, Salzburg, and finally to St. Gall. Although these centers guaranteed the perpetuation of a unified Christian culture through the trying times which immediately preceded the Romanesque period, they were unable in either politics or art to suppress the inherent feudalism and particularism of the time. The force of regionalism, which accounts for the survival of Germanic elements of style, technique, and ornament, must not be regarded as restricted to local ateliers, for its effects are apparent even in the style of the Palace school.

Barbaric elements of style, technique, and ornament, which were derived from immediate Germanic sources or were brought in by Island monks proselytising among the Germans, survived in strength only in the Germanic portions of the Carolingian empire. In the non-German areas, the older Mediterranean elements were backed by the forces of Romance provincialism and particularism. The Northern barbaric elements, which must be traced back to their ultimate Keltic, Germanic, and Steppe sources, survived within the framework of an ecclesiastical art. With the passage of the ninth century, they gradually lost their essentially barbaric form and style as they blended with the older Mediterranean and antique revival elements. This very process of blending, which was to bring about the submergence of purely barbaric motifs and forms in the art of the west, was an integral part of the task of the Carolingian renaissance. The ninth century assembled the materials for the Romanesque synthesis. It organized a heterogeneous inheritance of styles, techniques, motifs, and iconographic themes into a tentatively unified whole. In the course of this process of unification, which overrode particularism without destroying it, the barbaric elements assumed an integral position within Western art. This prelude to the synthesis of Western art, which was to be achieved in the Romanesque period, was over by the end of the ninth century with the appearance of the Robertians in France in 888 and the Ottonians in Germany in 911. The tenth century, which was swept

by Byzantine and Oriental influences, brought the transmutation of the embryonic Carolingian forms into the living Romanesque structures of the eleventh century.

CHAPTER II

MONUMENTS WITH BARBARIC ELEMENTS

Of the monuments of the Carolingian period that show barbaric affinities in style, technique, or form, it must first be determined whether these are fundamentally of Germanic or Hiberno-Saxon, that is to say Keltic or Anglo-Saxon, or Steppe origin. This enquiry is necessary in order to determine whether they have a purely Northern origin or represent Germanic, Island, or Steppe adaptations of Mediterranean or Oriental elements. The interaction of barbaric elements with the Mediterranean ones, which formed the core of Carolingian art, must be considered in order to understand the problems of stylistic development. It will be necessary to examine the nature and distribution of the barbaric elements with regard to each of the arts in turn, namely architecture, sculpture, metalwork, ivories, and manuscripts. A survey of the Carolingian materials will show that the barbaric elements are most clearly to be seen in metalwork and manuscript illumination. In architecture and sculpture, as was to be expected, they play an exceedingly limited role for these monumental arts, which were undeveloped by barbaric societies, were dominated by Mediterranean traditions. The arts and crafts of the barbarian tended to make themselves felt in the essentially ornamental rather than in the monumental arts, hence metalwork and manuscripts offered ideal vehicles for the German and Island artists.

Architecture

The architecture of the Carolingian period, which is largely known from the remains of ecclesiastical buildings, has few barbaric elements. The architecture is essentially an elaboration of a Merovingian legacy of design and construction, fertilized by borrowings from Italy and the East and by the antique revival. The types of churches include those with centralized plans such as the Palace Chapel of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was modelled on San Vitale at Ravenna,[1] and the church of Germigny-des-Prés, which has a cruciform plan,[2] as well as those with basilican plans. The latter type was actually by far the most usual plan, and a number of varients of the basilican plan

[1] Robert de Lasteyrie, L'architecture religieuse en France a l'époque romane (1929), pp. 145 ff. points out that the Palace Chapel of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was begun around 790 and consecrated in 804, was not characteristic of Carolingian architecture, although its centralized plan was copied in the palace chapels of Thoinville and Nymwegen and the smaller Rhenish and Alsatian churches of Essen, Ottmarsheim, Fulda, and Mettlach. These latter were built by the successors of Charlemagne and the Ottonians. For further information see: J. Strzygowski, Der Dom zu Aachen und seine Entstellung (1904); "Wiederherstellung und Auschmückung des Münster Kirche", in "Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Provinzialkommission für Denkmalpflege in der Rheinprovinz, April, 1901-März, 1902, in Bonner Jahrbücher (1903), Vol. 110, pp. 246 ff.

[2] J. Strzygowski, Origins of Christian Church Art (1923). p. 64. Germigny-des-Prés need not be regarded as the work of an Armenian or Persian architect because of analogies it shows with Bagaran and Etschmiadzin. It is better explained in terms of closer geographical analogies like the Visigothic church of San Miguel de Tarrasa and the church of S. Satyro at Milan. Their plans probably come from the Byzantine East. The presence of the horseshoe arch, which was a common feature of Visigothic churches, coupled with the fact that Germigny-des-Prés was built by the Visigoth Theodulf, indicates that the plan was probably inspired from Spain. See Bréhier, p. 130. Lasteyrie, pp. 143-5.

occur, for example the church with nave and transept, such as St. Denis, and the double apsed or double transept plan, like Saint Riquier, the Cathedral of Verdun, Saint Rémi of Reims, the Cathedral of Cologne, and St. Gall the forms of which can be determined on the basis of later drawings, fragmentary remains, or a surviving plan.[1] These architectural forms must have developed within the framework of Christian art. They have no antecedents in the architecture of the barbarians, which was restricted to wattle and log huts and irregularly shaped hill forts.

For the most part, the construction of the Carolingian churches offers little evidence of barbaric influence. Although architecture had fallen into decay after the breakup of the Roman Empire, the practice of building was not given up by the Church, the nobility, or the people. Without the survival of architectural practice in the church art of the Merovingian age, there would have been no important Carolingian buildings. Architecture cannot be revived at will by the edict of an emperor or by the learning of a clique of humanistic scholars. It requires artisans trained in the techniques of the building crafts. There is sufficient evidence to show that stone construction, including the erection of barrel vaults and simple arches,

[1] R. Krautheimer, "The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture", The Art Bulletin (1942), XXIV, pp. 1-38, insists upon the importance of the basilican plan of early Christian architecture in the art of the Carolingian renaissance.

as in the seventh century hypogeum at Poitiers, continued from Gallo-Roman times into the Carolingian era. The use of small stones and rubble continued for the building of walls, while larger cut stones were reserved for structural parts, such as pillars, openings, arches, and occasional vaults. Vaulting, which was crude and primitive, except in buildings under imperial patronage, was rare and largely restricted to crypts. Columns, which in practice were generally looted from the ruins of a Gallo-Roman building, were heavy and thickset when made by contemporary artisans. The Carolingians preferred the more easily built square or rectangular pier to the column. The arcaded wall, which became so popular in Romanesque times, was almost unknown. With the exception of the elaborate vaulting or arches of structures like Aix-la-Chapelle and Germigny-des-Prés, which were built under special patronage, Carolingian construction continued practices of church architects of the Merovingian age, which in turn had a firm Gallo-Roman and Mediterranean Christian foundation. In general the ecclesiastical architecture of the Carolingian period has few barbaric elements, except for ones of ornamentation, which will be taken up later.[1]

[1] For Carolingian architecture see: Hubert, Lasteyrie, and Bréhier. Also see C. Enlart, Manuel d'archéologie français (1902); "France", in Cabrol-LeClercq, Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétien (1923), V,2. col 2306 ff.; G.T. Rivoira, Lombardic Architecture (1933), II, pp. 62-7.; G.Dehio, Geschichte der deutschen Kunst (1930), I, pp. 41 ff.; A. Haupt, Die "älteste Kunst, Die Baukunst der Germanen (1909), pp. 222-258.; J.Hubert, L'art pré-roman (1938).

Unfortunately little is known of domestic, civil, and military architecture of Carolingian times. The domestic architecture, which must have been largely of wood, is known from one example, which has survived because of its stone construction. It is the gaue Haus at Winkel in the Rheingau, which was built in 850 for Abbot Rhabanus Maurus of Fulda. Its arcaded windows have imposts recalling later Anglo-Saxon types.[1] Theoretically the Gallo-Roman villa, perhaps fortified with a wooden palisade, probably continued in France and along the Rhine. The traditional Franconian house of central Germany has a courtyard plan, which might indicate the survival of a Roman provincial type, perhaps with Germanic elements. The Chief's Hall, the German Halle and the French Saal, was the prototype for the great hall of the medieval castles and manors.[2] The towns of the day, small though they were, must have had remnants

[1] H. Picton, Early German Art (1939),p.57. Haupt,pp.236.

[2] J. Diffenbacher, Deutsches Leben (1918),II. pp. 48 ff. Picton, pp. 37 ff. Enlart,II, pp. 59 ff. Stephani,Der älteste Deutsche Wohnbau (1902),I, pp.10-57. The Merovingian literary evidence is confusing, for Gregory of Tours describes houses built in the Gallo-Roman tradition, while Fortunatus discusses wood houses built along the Rhine by the Germans. Although much has been written about the importance and the development of German wood architecture, there is little archaeological data. Linguistic evidence indicates that the Germans must have taken over Roman provincial practices. For example, the German terms for pile(Pfahl), wall(Mauer), and Kitchen(Küche) are derived from latin terms: palus, murus, and coquina respectively. On the other hand the terms for wood architecture are essentially German. There must have been fusions and exchanges of plans, techniques, and ornament. The half timber construction which became so popular in the later Middle Ages may well represent a fusion of German wattle and wood construction with provincial brick construction.

of Roman walls, supplemented by ditches and wooden palisades. There are literary references to wooden bridges, such as the one built by Charlemagne at Mainz. It is interesting to note that the barbaric Volksburg, which consisted of a mound and palisade adapted to the contours of a hill, was replaced within the Carolingian realm by the square Königshof with rectangular walls, a rudimentary gate, and a central praetorium tower. The Königshöfe of Heisterburg on the Deister, Wittekindsburg near Rulle, Dolberg on the Lippe, and Bumannsburg on the Lippe were typical of the square Roman type of fort which Charlemagne built to defend his frontiers. The irregularly contoured fortifications, which were traditional among the Germans, were destined, however, to become the model for the medieval castle.[1]

Court architecture is best exemplified by the palace of Charlemagne at Aachen, which is still largely covered by the streets and buildings of the modern town, and the palace of Louis the Pious at Ingelheim, which is known from excavations. These consisted of a number of buildings laid out on a regular plan, which must have been inspired from the Mediterranean. Only the Königshalle, which has been compared with the chief's hall of the Sagas and the Visigothic palace at Naranco in Spain, might represent Germanic influence.[2]

[1]Schuchhardt, Vorgeschichte von Deutschland(1935),pp. 310 ff.

[2]Dehio, pp. 53 ff. figs 21, 28. Friedrich Wimmer,"Zur Entstehung der Kreusförmigen Basilika des Abendlandes", Der Norden in der bildenden Kunst Westeuropas (1926), pp. 240 ff.

The only example of Carolingian monastic architecture is illustrated by the monastery complex of St. Gall, which is known from a contemporary ninth century plan. It has little that can be ascribed to barbaric influence.[1] This monastery with its church and cloister, its school and hospital, and its barns, stalls, and workshops throws much light on the character and functions of the early medieval monastic centers and their status as the foci of religious, intellectual, artistic, and craft activities.

There is thus little evidence for barbaric influence in Carolingian plans and construction, but other features which are mostly akin to classic and Byzantine styles are more suggestive. Most important are the horseshoe arches of Germigny-des-Prés and the small church of Mals in the Austrian Tyrol, the triangular-headed arcade of the Gate house at Lorsch, and certain ornamental work in brick and stone, all of which have been regarded by scholars as products of barbaric influence. The horseshoe arches and triangular-headed arcades can, however, be more satisfactorily ascribed to non-barbaric sources; certain of the pattern work designs must, on the other hand, be regarded as barbaric.

a. The Horseshoe Arch

The earliest examples of the horseshoe arch in the Carolingian world are to be found at Germigny-des-Prés (pl. I a),

[1] J.M.Clark, The Abbey of St.Gall (1926), pp. 71 ff. Enlart, II, pp. 7 ff.

which was erected by Theodulf, a Visigoth and bishop of Orleans between 799 and 818.[1] (See Chart II). They occur in the main structure of the Church, serving as supports for the tower. They rest upon imposts supported by colonnets and face four apses (the western one was destroyed when a nave was added in 1067), which have horseshoe plans. The horseshoe arch of Germigny-des-Prés was probably brought by Theodulf from Spain, where such arches were common both in Visigothic and at a later date in Asturian and Moslem architecture. Contacts with Spain appear to have been usual and continue for in the Romanesque period this area exercised considerable influence in France. In any case in the period which we are considering some Spanish examples antedate Germigny-des-Prés; the most important[2] being San Juan de

[1] Hubert, p. 22 dates Germigny-des-Prés to 799-818. Rivoira, pp. 57-62 points out that the dating of this church rests upon a late ninth century copy of the apse inscription and a dedicatory inscription cut on one of the capitals. In connection with the inscriptional material Rivoira advances an interesting theory concerning the origins of Germigny-des-Prés. He would identify Theodulf with the Theodulf mentioned in the Annales Ord. S. Benedicti as " erat Theodulfus natione Italus". On this assumption and the analogies between the ground plan of Germigny-des-Prés and those of Galla Placidia at Ravenna and the sixth century church of San Lorenzo Maggiore at Milan, he would make Germigny-des-Prés the creation of a Theodulf who came from Italy rather than Spain at the beginning of the ninth century.

[2] A.S. Frischauer, Altspanischer Kirchenbau, Studien zur spätantiken Kunstgeschichte (1930), III, pp. 18 ff. 20 ff. 27 ff. 39 ff. 57 ff. 67 ff dates San Juan de Baños to 661 on the basis of an inscription over the apse. San Miguel in Escalada was rebuilt in 913, while San Salvador de Valdedios is dated by an inscription to A.D. 893. Other churches with horseshoe arches include Ste. Maria in Melque, Ste Maria in Lehena, and San Cébrian in Mazote. See Haupt, figs 111,113,116,117,119. See also Bernard Bevan, History of Spanish Architecture (1938), p. 10, pp. 35-7. p. 16.

Baños (A.D. 661),(pl. I c-d), San Miguel in Escalada , and San Salvador de Valdedios (A.D. 893). The only other known example in Carolingian architecture occurs in the east end of the small church of Mals which has a stucco arcade with horseshoe arches (pl. I b). The interlace on the columns and the general spirit of this stucco work recalls Lombard monuments such as at Cividale. It is probably dated to the late eighth century.[1]

The horseshoe arch is also to be found as an ornamental motif in late Merovingian manuscripts. Typical horseshoe arches occur in arcades of the ornamental pages of the Lectionarium Gallicanum (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 9427, fol. 32b), which dates to about 700, the Augusti homiliae (Wolfenbüttel, Landesbibliothek, 99 Weissenburg, fol. 1a), which dates to the second quarter of the eighth century, and the Ivencus MS. (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 304, fol. 1a), which dates to about 775 (pl. II a). The first two manuscripts are assigned to the school of Luxeuil, while the last manuscript was a product of eastern France under Luxeuil influence..To these one must add the horseshoe arches on the ornamental pages of the Ambrosius super Lucam (St. Petersburg, Imperial Library, F.v.IN. 6, fol. AB), which is dated to about 770 and attributed to the school of Corbie. A final example may be taken from the Leges

[1] J. Strzygowski, "Spüren des ältesten deutschen Holzhaues", Der Norden in der Bildenden Kunst Westeuropas (1926), p. 109, fig. 7. adduces that the Mals arcades were a product of Asiatic influence. Mals would provide a stylistic link between the arcaded doors of Hitterdal and Aal in Scandinavia and the art of the Lombards and Croats. See Picton, p. 58.

The Horseshoe Arch

Chart II

Date	Scandinavia	Britain	Germany	France	Spain	Italy	Byzantium + Anatolia	Levant
300					León Stelae Madrid Stelae	Villa Mattei Sarcophagus	Motif Diffusion	Prototypes?
400								Mar Yakub (359)
500							Biy-Bin-Kilisse (Anatolia) Khoja Kalesi (Isauria)	n. Dānā
600					San Juan de Baños		Architectural Diffusion	Ala Dayr Simian Rawayha Rabula Gospels
700				Corbie-huxauil MSS		San Apollinare Cl. Sarcophagus	Manuscript Diffusion	
800			Mals Germigny des-Prés		S. Miguel Escalada			
900		Clee			S. Salvador Valdedios Islamic Horseshoe Arch			Cappadocian Rock Cut Chapels Armenian Horseshoe Arch
1000	Aal	Limpsley Stoke						

Barbarorum (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, MS. 731, pag. 234), which is dated to about 793. The horseshoe arch motif does not occur in eighth century manuscripts of the British Isles, indicating that the motif was restricted to the continent during the Merovingian period.[1]

Some scholars believe that the horseshoe arch was originally a Germanic wood architectural form. It would have been introduced into Spain and North Africa by the Visigoths and Vandals. Its introduction into Church architecture would have brought its translation into stone. If one accepts the theory that the horseshoe arch was brought to Spain by the Visigoths, it would therefore constitute a barbaric Germanic element in the architecture of Visigothic Spain and Carolingian France.[2]

The horseshoe arch, however, as seen at Germigny-des-Prés, in the Visigothic churches, and as an ornamental motif in continental manuscripts of Merovingian times goes back before the time of the Visigoths to the Roman period. In Roman Spain it was used as an ornamental device on stelae, such as those preserved at Leon (pl. II b), and the stele of L. Acmilius of the Madrid Museum.[3] In Italy, the sarcophagus of the Villa Mattei,

[1] E. H. Zimmermann, Vorkarolingische Miniaturen (1916), pl. 56 a-b, 74 c, 117, 150.

[2] Haupt, pp. 93-95.

[3] J. Pijoan, History of Art (1927), I, p. 482, fig. 795. Haupt, fig. 106. Bevan, p. 7. fig. 1.

which is now in the Museo Nazionale (Rome), has an arcade with horseshoe-like arches (pl. II c), indicating the use of this type of arch in third century Italy.[1] In view of the fact that the horse shoe arch does not occur as a decorative or as a structural feature on ancient Iberic or Italic monuments, its ultimate origin must be sought in another quarter.

In the Near and Middle East the horseshoe arch has been ascribed to both Persian and Indian sources, but in view of its wide use in early Christian architecture of Syria and Anatolia and its absence in relevant Iranian monuments, it most probably was a creation of the Levant. Creswell may well be right in describing its creation as a Syrian response to the desire to economise on centering in a land where timber was scarce. The earliest dated examples occur over door lintels in the baptistry of Mār Ya'qūb (A.D. 359),(pl. II d), and in the church at 'Ala (A.D. 543), east of Hama. To these Mesopotamian and Syrian examples one must add the larger horseshoe arches which occur over the west entrance of the north church at Rawayha (sixth century), in the apse of the church of northern Dānā (A.D. 483), and to judge from fragments, in the western monastery of Dayr

[1] Rivoira, pp. 61-2, fig. 444 insists on the continuity of the horseshoe arch as a decorative device in Italy by pointing to its use on an eighth century sarcophagus at Sant' Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna. J.Strzygowski, Early Church Art in Northern Europe (1928) ,pp 7-8 denounces any attempt to derive the horseshoe arch or horseshoe apse plan from Rome or Italy. Personal inspection of the Villa mattei sarcophagus has suggested the possibility that the horseshoe effect could have resulted from crowding the design.

Sim'an.[1] This architectural form is not restricted to Syria, for it also occurs among the many churches of Bin-bir-Kilisse in the desert region of Kara Dagh of Anatolia.[2] In Cappadocia the horseshoe arch form survived to play a role in the ornamentation of the walls of the tenth-eleventh century rock-cut chapels of Qaranleq Kilisse, Peristrema, Guereme near Urgub, and Atschyk Serai.[3] Further east it played a role in Armenian church architecture.[4] The Anatolian and Armenian horseshoe arches probably represent a northward and eastward diffusion of a Syrian creation.

The transmission of the Near Eastern horseshoe arch to the west may well have taken place in two waves (See Chart II). First. the decorative usage, which is manifested in the Villa Mattei sarcophagus and the Madrid and Leon stelae, was probably brought to the West by Roman legionaries.[5] Secondly, the architectural usage may well have been introduced in the sixth century in

[1] K.A.C. Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture (1932), I pp. 137-9.

[2] Creswell, ibid. G.Bell and A.Ramsey, The Thousand and One Churches (1914). Horseshoe arches occur in Churches I, VII, XVI, and XXXI and in the cruciform church of Mahalotch. A Horseshoe arch similar to the Dānā one occurs at the church of Khoja Kalesi.

[3] J. Puig I Cadafalch, La géographie et les originesdu premier art roman (1935), pp. 435-439, figs. 645,645,647,648.

[4] Strzygowski, Origin of Christian Church Art (1923), pp. 87-8 seeks an Armenian origin for the horseshoe arch, but maintains it may be traced back to Aryan wood construction.

[5] Pijoan, I, pp. 482, discusses the theory of the ornamental transmission of the horseshoe arch by legionaries moving from the Near East to Spain.

the wake of Justinian's conquests in Spain and North Africa. This would be supported by the fact that the horseshoe arch evolved within the framework of church architecture in the East and must have spread through ecclesiastical channels to the West. The horseshoe arches of the western manuscripts were probably transmitted through books brought by monks and pilgrims, for this motif occurs on the Canon Tables of the Syriac Gospel of Rabula (Florence, Laurentian Library),(A.D. 589).[1]

One must conclude that the Visigoths, who could hardly have brought a stone architecture with them from the Pontic steppe or their northern homeland, patronized the construction of churches by native builders who made use of the horseshoe arch borrowed from the Near East. From Spain this architectural device spread to France to inspire the structural horseshoe arches of Germigny-des-Prés. The ornamental horseshoe arches of the late Merovingian manuscripts and the stucco arcades of Mals may well have been taken from book sources like the Rabula Gospels. These manuscripts could have reached Mals and France through Italy as well as Spain. Later the horseshoe arch spread northwards beyond France into the British Isles, where it occurs in the late Saxon church of Limpley Stoke near Bradford-on-Avon and in the Norman cathedral of Winchester (north transept).[2]

[1] O,M. Dalton, Byzantine Art and Archaeology (1911), pp. 448, fig. 259, 267.

[2] G. Baldwin Brown, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, The Arts in Early England (1925), II, pp 29-30,402,466, fig.188 points

The horseshoe arch of the church at Aal in Norway, which is contemporary with the full Romanesque on the continent, represents the northward end of the line of diffusion.. The Roman and the later Visigothic and Carolingian usages represent two stages in the development and transmission of an Oriental form. The horseshoe arches of Germigny-des-Prés and Mals cannot be regarded as a barbaric contribution to Carolingian architecture. The horseshoe arch must have been brought to Germigny-des-Prés from Spain by Theodulf, while the ones of Mals were probably inspired by manuscript illumination.[1]

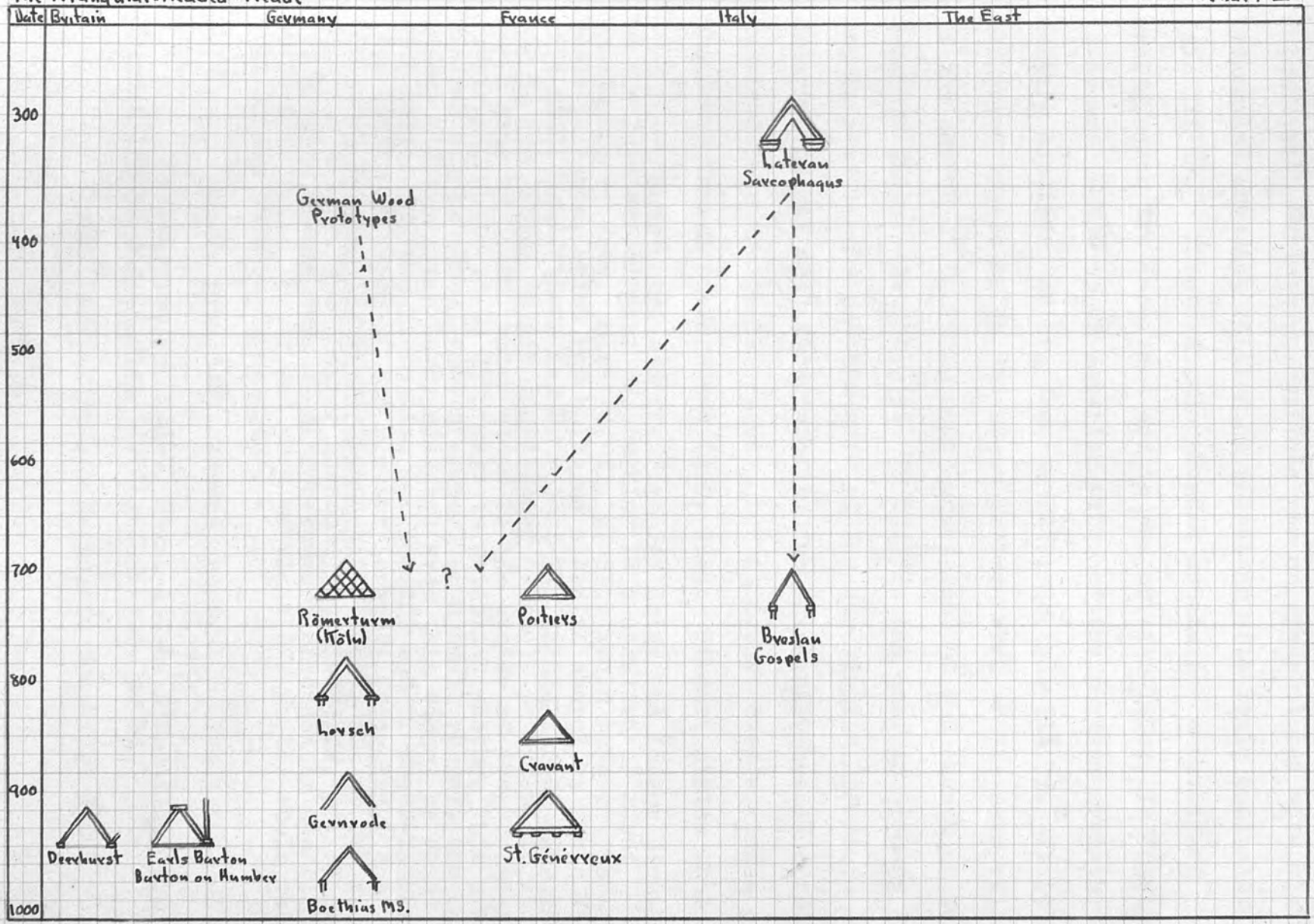
b. The Triangular-Headed Arcade

The triangular-headed arcading of the so-called Gatehouse or sepulchral chapel of Lorsch is often offered as evidence of the influence of Germanic wood architecture (See Chart III). This rectangular building with its high pitched wooden roof has a lower level with three round arches flanked by half

that the arch of Limpley Stoke is most distinctly horseshoed in shape. It is unique in Anglo-Saxon architecture if one rules out the questionable example at Brixworth. It is possible that the keyhole form of window on the west face of the tower at Clee in Lincolnshire and of the window at Langford in Oxfordshire are late Saxon reflections of the horseshoe arch design. In any case these late Saxon forms of the horseshoe arch have little to do with the origins of continental horseshoe designs and arches. They must represent continental influence in the British Isles.

[2]Frischauer, pp. 95 ff. After pointing out the importance of the movements of traders, monks, and pilgrims for the transmission of Oriental ideas to the West, he supports the view that the horseshoe arch was introduced into the West with the wave of late antique orientalization.

The Triangular-Headed Arcade



columns with Corinthian capitals and an upper storey with blank triangular arcading resting on pilasters with Ionic capitals (pl. III a).[1] The triangular-headed arcade has a number of analogies on the continent and in the British Isles. In Franee it occurs in the upper exterior walls of the perhaps seventh century baptistry of St. Jean at Poitiers (pl. III b).[2] It is reflected in the brick and stone pattern work of the nave walls of the church of Cravant, near Loches, and of the church of Saint Generoux (Deux - Sevres),(pl. IV b).[3] To the east in Germany it may be seen in the pattern work of the Merovingian Römerturm at Cologne (pl. IV a).[4] Structurally, the triangular-headed opening survived into the tenth century, for it occurs over a window of the Abbey Church of Gernrode (A.D. 968). Rivoira states that a

[1] Haupt, pp. 228 ff. fig. 149 dates the Lorsch structure to the late Merovingian era, making it a creation of Abbot Chrodegang of Metz. Rivoira, II, p. 311. would make it the Ecclesia varia, which was built as a burial chapel by Louis III (876-882). Excavations led F. Behn (Die karolingische Klosterkirche von Lorsch an der Bergstrasse (1934)), to regard it as a royal gate of honor, which stood in the center of the monastery courtyard. While it is difficult to establish whether this structure was a gate house, gate of honor, or a small chapel, one can assume a Carolingian date, although even this cannot be fixed with certainty. See Lasteyrie, pp. 168 ff. and W. Meyer-Barkhausen "Die 'Ecclesia Triplex' des Kloster Lorsch", Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft (1935), II, pp 351 ff.; Heinrich Walbe, "Vom Kloster Lorsch", Ibid (1937),IV, pp. 51 ff.; and R. Krautheimer, pp. 32-3. For summary discussions see Picton, pp 51 ff.; Dehio, p. 47. and plan on plate 27. On the whole the most likely date is Carolingian.

[2] Haupt, fig. 147. Hubert, p. 5.

[3] Lasteyrie, pp. 151-2. figs. 134-5. L'Coutil, L'art mérovingien et carolingien (1930), fig. opp. p. 94.

[4] Picton, p.50, fig.18. Haupt, p. 234, fig. 158.

tenth century manuscript of Beothius, which is in the Landesbibliothek at Bamberg, has a representation of a building with a triangular-headed arcade.[1] The often cited Anglo-Saxon churches with blank triangular-headed arcading or triangular-headed openings, such as Earl's Barton tower (10th century), Deerhurst (10th century),(pl. III c), and Barton-on-Humber(10th century) are later and may well have been inspired by continental models.[2]

The earlier antecedents of the triangular-headed arcade, opening, or motif are difficult to trace. This motif occurs in a border ornament in the Breslau Gospels (Breslau, Landesbibliothek, Rehdig. 169, fol. 242a), which are dated to the middle of the eighth century and assigned to a northeast Italian monastery (pl. IV c). This border consists of an arcade with an alternating round and triangular arches.[3] The ultimate source of the motif is disputed. Strzygowski, working on the assumption that much of the architecture of western and northern Europe had wood prototypes, believes that the triangular-headed arcade had wood models, such as Fachwerk (half timber construction). The native half-timber and full-timber work would have been translated into stone. The architectural types, which were borrowed from the south, would have been modified under the

[1] Rivoira, II, p. 313.

[2] A.W. Clapham. English Romanesque Architecture (1930), I, pp.109 ff. pls. 39,41,48, 34 notes that the triangular-headed openings which survive in late Anglo-Saxon churches were copied from continental Carolingian forms.

[3] Zimmermann, p. 156, pl. 27 b.

influence of wood construction. Unfortunately there are few examples of wood architecture until the late Middle Ages.[1] The Northern hypothesis is challenged by many scholars, who point to the occurance of the triangular-headed arcade on a fourth century Christian sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum at Rome (pl. IV d).[2] It is difficult to decide whether this motif has a Northern or Mediterranean origin. Nevertheless its occurance on sarcophagi and in manuscript illumination may indicate that its absorption into late antique and Christian art took place before the Migration age.

Undoubtedly wood architecture was important in Merovingian and Carolingian times. The use of wood for the construction of houses and palaces as well as churches is well attested by writers like Bishop Venantius Fortunatus.[3] This wood architecture need not be solely ascribed to the Germans, for the materials of construction are dependent upon environment rather than race and language. Strzygowski's argument that Fachwerk was adopted because of the scarcity of wood in western Europe does not fit the facts. One of the major problems that confronted the peasant of the Dark Ages was the clearing of the forest lands in both France and Germany,[4] and undountedly, the close

[1] Strzygowski, Church Art in Northern Europe, pp. 77 ff

[2] Rivoira, I[1], pp.66,313,fig. 448. Dehio, p. 38.

[3] Richard Koebner, "The Settlement and Colonization of Europe", The Cambridge Economic History(1941),I, pp. 42 ff.

[4] G.East, Historical Geography of Europe(1939),pp.74 ff.

association with timber so brought about, resulted in modifications of the plans, construction techniques, and the types of ornament, which had been taken over from the Mediterranean world, but these could have been made by provincials as well as Germans. There is unfortunately, sufficient evidence only for endless speculation; no conclusion can be reached with regard to this feature.

c. Pattern Work

More definite conclusions can , however, be reached with regard to pattern work in brick and stone which was a common feature of many Carolingian churches, for this was undoubtedly derived from both Northern and Mediterranean sources. The Northern elements tended to find their logical expression in ornament. As will be shown later in the sections on manuscripts and metalwork, barbaric influence during the Carolingian period made itself felt in details of decoration or in the preferenee for certain types of stylistic rendering, which did not affect the structure or the major intent of the creation.

Not all brick and stone pattern work can, however, be regarded as Northern. The Mediterranean element is dominant in pattern work from the Gate or Chapel of Lorsch, which consists of hexagons, lozenges, and squares (pl. V a).[1] Similar pattern work occurs in the walls of the vestibule of St. Germain d'Auxerre, which is attributed to the ninth century. The Lorsch

[1] Hubert, p. 90. pl. VII d.

and Auxerre pattern work, which has an immediate analogy in similar work of the seventh century crypt of St. Paul of Jouarre (pl. V b) may well have an ultimate Gallo-Roman source.[1] Related pattern work in the form of alternating red brick and white stone is used in arches and walls at Aix-la-Chapelle (pl. V c), St, Martin of Angers (pl. V d), St. Philbert (A.D. 836-53), Basse-OEuvre of Beauvais (A.D. 949-98), Notre Dame de la Couture of Le Mans (c. A.D. 995), St. Etienne of Déols (A.D. 955), and the dungeon of Langeais, which was built by Fouques Nerra in A.D. 994.[2] This type of pattern work, which has decorative analogies with the opus mixtum of the late Roman Empire, appears in West and East Christian buildings in the ninth century. In view of its long and widespread usage in Byzantine architecture, it may probably represent East Mediterranean influence in the West.[3] In any case it is not barbaric.

While the opus reticulatum and opux mixtum pattern work can be explained in terms of ultimate Mediterranean sources, the herring bone patterns used in the brick construction of the

[1] Hubert, pl.VII a-b. Rivoira,II,p.311,fig. 749,considers the pattern work of Lorsch to be an imitation of Roman polychrome opus reticulatum, such as occurs in the Amphitheatre at Assisi.

[2] Hubert, pl. XIV e, XV c, XIII a. Coutil, fig.opp.p.94. Hubert, pl. IX b, figs. 109-110, pl. VII g.

[3] Hubert, pp. 90-92 points out that although this type of pattern work has been assigned a priori to the Merovingian Age and derived from late Roman and Gallo-Roman architecture, it is rare in dated Merovingian structures and is best explained as a part of the revival of antique forms or as a borrowing from Byzantium.

walls of the churches of Periers (Calvados) and Vienne (Calvados) have been assigned both to barbaric and to Mediterranean influences.[1] Clear barbaric inspiration can be seen in the ornamental arches of Distré near Saumur (Main-et-Loire),(pl.VI a), of the monastery of Pental at St. Samson de la Roque(Eure),(pl.VI b), and of the tenth century church of Angers.[2] While the ornamental effects of the arches of Distré and Angers have been inspired by cloisonné jewellery, that of St. Samson has affinities with Kerbschnitt work. The ornamental motifs from Distré and Angers can be compared with the cloisonné jewellery of either the Tournai find or that from the Frankish graves of Soest (Rhineland) (pl. VI c).[3] The Kerbschnitt ornament of the fibulae from Marchelpot (Somme),(pl. VI d) offers the best analogy for the ornament of the arch of St. Samson.[4] The influence of the cloisonné technique on architectural ornament survived through the ninth and tenth centuries to the beginnings of the Romanesque.[5]

[1]Coutil, figs. opp. pp. 102, 104. Bréhier, pp. 90 ff. suggests that the herring-bone or fern leaf patterns found in the walls of Merovingian churches may have been inspired by barbaric cloisonné. Clapham, I, p. 107, believes the herring-bone motif is Roman.

[2]Coutil, figs. opp. p. 106. Lasteyrie, fig. 266.

[3]Schuchhardt, pp. 301 ff, figs. 270,272.

[4]Coutil, fig. opp. p. 106.

[5]Bréhier, p. 124 to show the survival of cloisonné effects in brick and stone pattern work, he cites examples in the churches of the Auvergne, Velay, Berry, and Lyonnais areas which date to the beginning of the Romanesque period, dating to the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Sculpture

Carolingian sculpture, which is known from a few remains in stone, metal, and stucco, exhibits few barbaric elements. Although there is a relative abundance of sculptured ornament on capitals, panels, and altar table fragments, which indicate the widespread demand for sculpture in the ninth century, extant figure work is scarce. The extensive character of the Ottonian figure work in metal probably indicates that figure work in stone was common in Carolingian times. Most of the work, which has survived, is, however, crude, representing a continuation of Merovingian techniques, improved to a certain extent by the attempt to revive modelling and sculpture in relief. These efforts were not to manifest themselves in great works until Ottonian times.[1]

There are only a few fragments of Carolingian sculpture in the round. It may be that few efforts were made in the field of high relief or statuary because of the insurmountable difficulties in treating stone and metal masses in a plastic manner. Stone sculpture in high relief was foreshadowed even in Merovingian times by works like the reliefs of the tomb of Bishop Aigilbert from the crypts of Jouarre which are dated to the seventh century. Nevertheless, even those few Carolingian monuments which survive are dubious. For example the sarcophagus of

[1] For general literature: Hubert, pp. 135 ff, Cabrol-LeClercq, col. 2345 ff, Enlart, I, pp. 187 ff, Brehier, pp. 193 ff. Lasteyrie, pp. 196 ff.

Adeloch, Bishop of Strassburg, which has a vine scroll ornament and arcades, has been attributed to the Carolingian period, though most scholars would regard it as Romanesque.[1] The sarcophagus of the Reims cathedral, which is known only from a later drawing, was ornamented with a representation of Charles the Bald holding a model of the Church of St. Rémi of Reims. It is attributed to the time of Bishop Himcmar. This disputed work, which has been variously placed in the Gallo-Roman, Merovingian, Carolingian, and Romanesque periods, has no barbaric elements.[2]

The bronze statuary of the Carolingian period, which must have been extensive if one is to believe the records of altar statuettes and lectern and pulpit plaques, survives in the ornament of the severely classical doors and balustrades from Aix-la-Chapelle and in the small statuette of Charlemagne, which was at Metz until the French Revolution and is now in the Louvre. All of these were rendered after antique models. Although we have records of wood statuettes covered with metal and encrusted with jewels, there are no extant monuments until Ottonian or early Romanesque times; the Bernward metalwork and the Sainte Foy statuette at Conques may be cited. The excellence of Ottonian

[1] Bréhier, pp. 203 ff, Hubert, pp. 162-3.

[2] Bréhier, pp. 200 ff. To these works one can add such tenth century monuments as the slab of Charlieu, the bas reliefs of St. Martin of Angers, the figural reliefs of St. Philbert of Tournus and St. Paul near Dux, the statues of Christ in the church of Le Mans and at the church of St. Pierre of Manarre(Var), and the crucifixes of St. Odon(Cologne), and Aurau(Switzerland), all of which point toward the dawn of Romanesque sculpture. In any case they are free of barbaric elements. See Lasteyrie, pp. 198 ff.

metalwork suggests that a tradition of figure work existed even in early Carolingian times.[1]

The stucco ornament of the Carolingian period, although showing only a limited amount of interlace, possesses ornamental motifs, which however, throw light on the possible sources of Carolingian sculptured ornament. Stucco work, which had Gallo-Roman and Merovingian antecedents, was a cheap material for imitating work in the more expensive and technically difficult stone and marble. Unfortunately relatively little stucco survives from the ninth century[2]. The stucco from Germigny-des-Prés, which is preserved in the museum at Orleans, was used for architectural decoration. The crudely moulded stucco fragments, which must have come from arches, columns, and panels used to decorate cupolas, lantern windows, and apses, are dovered with scrolls, palmettes, four petal flowers, and rosettes (pl. XXXIX a) sometimes enclosed in circles of interlace. There is very little in the overall ornament of Germigny-des-Prés, which can be ascribed to Northern influence.[3] The same is true of the cross and rosette designs (pl. XXXIX b) in stucco from the eastern crypt at St. Bénigne of Dijon.[4] While little stucco work has survived in the Rhineland, there are some fragmentary finds from

[1]Hinks, p. 103. Picton, pp. 131 ff.

[2]Hubert, pp. 139 ff. Bréhier, pp. 193 ff.

[3]Hubert, pp. 141-2, pl. XXVII a-d.

[4]Hubert, pl. XXVII e.

Switzerland. The church of Disentis, which has yielded some scraps of mosaic and painting, has some fragments of life-size stucco statues and stucco architectural ornament. The ornament, which comes from arches, is dominated by floral, fretwork, and triangular patterns, which might have been inspired by Kerbschnitt (pl. XXXIX d). There is no interlace.[1] The stucco chancel panel from Münster in Grisons consists of squares in triple strand interlace[2], while the stucco arcade from St. Benedict of Mals near Meran in the Austrian Tyrol has helical columns which are covered with a basket and plait design (pl. XXXIX c).[3] In view of the fact that the statue fragments of Disentis call to mind the Cividale stucco statues and that the interlace designs in stone and stucco from both France and Germany point toward Italy, it will be necessary to explore their sources, using their Lombard affinities as a point of departure.

In the lands between the Loire and the Rhine, which served as the homeland of the Carolingian renaissance, there is found a series of sculptured architectural ornament, such as capitals, pilasters, and panels. The corinthianesque capitals from Aachen, St. Pierre of Flavigny, St. Germain of Auxerre, Ingelheim, Lorsch, and St. Denis, which are generally dated to

[1] E. A. Stückelberg, "Die Ausgrabungen zu Disentis," Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde (1907), VI, pp. 489 ff. fig. 4. Ibid (1908),VII,p.227,fig.6. Ibid (1910),IX pp. 36 ff, fig. 2. Bréhier, pp. 194 ff

[2] Lasteyrie, p. 155, fig. 138.

[3] Hubert, p. 142, pl. XXVII i. Picton, fig. 22.

the ninth century, have obvious antique sources, although their bands, rosettes, and acanthus leaves are crudely rendered and may well have been carved at times by a sculptor, or even a carpenter, who was used to working in a wood medium.[1] Other deformed corinthianesque capitals, which occur at St. Romain-le-Puy and Chamalières (Puy-de-Dôme) in central France outside the area of German settlement, indicate that crudeness and deformity cannot be ascribed to barbaric influence.[2] Ionic capitals, such as those of Lorsch and St. Germain of Auxerre, are rare.[3] Capitals with human, bird, and animal ornamentation, which were so popular in Romanesque times, occur in the crypt of Saint Benigne of Dijon and at St. Aignan of Orleans. Although these capitals are frequently assigned to the tenth and eleventh centuries, this type is depicted in ninth century manuscripts, an indication of their popularity in Carolingian times. Nevertheless, because of their naturalistic rendering, these capitals in stone and paint can hardly be regarded as barbaric.[4] On the other hand, Caroling-

[1]Hubert, pl. XXXIV g,XXXV a-d,; Happt, fig. 49.; Dehio, fig. 231.; Hubert, pl. XXXII a-f.

[2]Lasteyrie,figs 142, 173. pp. 196 ff., points out the popularity of the corinthianesque capital in Carolingian manuscripts: Gospels of St. Thierry(Reims, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 7, fol. 16v, 19), the Harleian Gospels(London, British Museum, Harl. 2788, fol. 161v), and the Codex aureus of St.Emmeran(Munich, Nationalbibliothek, Cod.lat. 14000)(fol.10v,11). See A. Boinet, La miniature carolingienne (1913), pls. LXXV d,LXXVI c, CXVII a-b. A. Goldschmidt, Die deutsche Buchmalerei (1928), I, pl. 37.

[3]Lasteyrie, p. 196, fig. 174. Dehio, fig. 230.

[4]Lasteyrie, pp. 196 ff. figs. 139-140, 178.

ian capitals do have ornamental elements pointing to barbaric influence. The ornament on the imposts and capitals of Germigny-des-Prés include simple triple-strand interlace in a side loop pattern(pl. XXXIV a) and zig-zag motifs (pl. XL a). While they may well have a Gallo-Roman source, the interlace motif may be a Northern adaptation of a Mediterranean ornamental motif.[1] The capitals from Chivy(Aisne), which have bodies ornamented with floral, shell, and scroll pattern, are surmounted by bands with a scroll and geometric ornament (pl. XL b-d), perhaps inspired by cloisonné or Kerbschnitt work.[2] Pilasters with sculptured ornament have surviced in several places. The pilaster from Flavigny is ornamented with a floral design, while those from Montmajour in southern France and Cravant in northern France have interlace work. The Montmajour pilaster has floral motifs tied together by a figure-eight interlace (pl. XXXIV b), while the Cravant pilaster is covered with circular and knotted designs in triple-strand interlace (pl. XXXIV c-d).[3]

While the few barbaric elements of the architectural sculpture of the capitals and pilasters cannot be placed in a significant chronological or geographical pattern, the Northern elements of ornament found on sculptured panels, though difficult to date, do at least show an interesting geographical distribution

[1]Haupt, fig. 54,162-3; Hubert,pl. XXXIV h.j. XXXIX a. fig. 172.; Cabrol-LeClercq,fig. 4678.

[2]Cabrol-LeClercq, col. 2311, fig. 4665.

[3]Hubert, pl. XL a.;Enlart,fig.57.;Cabrol-LeClercq, fig. 4672; Lasteyrie, pp. 151 ff. fig. 136.

In northern and eastern France the most important examples are at Auxerre, Reims, St. Goesmes, and Dijon. The twelfth century tower of St. Germain of Auxerre contains some interesting panels decorated with knotted and plaited designs in triple-strand interlace (pl. XXXVa-b), floral designs, and opposed birds and animals, of which one or two have interlacing tails. These panels must have come from the fore nave, which was dedicated in 865.[1] The chancel panel from Reims, which may well date to the reconstruction of St. Rémi, begun by Bishop Ebon in 816 and compleled by Bishop Hincmar in 852, is ornamented with circles, bands,and borders, all done in triple strand interlace (pl. XXXV c).[2] This same type of interlace pattern work done on a larger scale and with more refinement may be seen at St. Goesmes(Haute-Marne), (pl. XXXV d). This latter Carolingian panel, which is sometimes dated to about 886, is incorporated in a thirteenth century piscina.[3] The lateness of these works does not seem to account

[1]Hubert, pp. 164-5, fig. 187, dates the Auxerre panels to 841-865. Cabrol-LeClercq, col. 2319-20. Enlart, I, pp. 157-159. L. Reme, "L'Abaye de St.Germain d'Auxerre," Bulletin da la société des antiquaries de France (1937), pp. 149-157.

[2]Hubert, pp. 25-6. pl. XXXIX b,; Enlart, I, p. 157.; Cabrol-LeClercq, col. 2317-18.; Deshoulierès, " Les fouilles de la cathédrale de Reims", Bulletin monumental (1923), pp. 401-2, believes the Carolingian construction was begun by Ebon about A.D. 820 and finished by his successor Hincmar in A.D. 862. Hans Reinhardt, "Étude sur les églises-porches carolingiennes et leur survivance dans l'art roman," Bulletin monumental (1933), pp. 351-354.

[3]Hubert, pl. XXXIX c. Cabrol-LeClercq, col. 2321 fig. 4666.

for their refinement, for fragments from St. Bénigne of Dijon, which consist of crudely rendered interlace knots (pl. XXXVI a) and floral motifs, are attributed to the crypt built by Abbé Isaac (A.D. 871-886).[1] Further to the east,[2] one finds evidence of the use of interlace of a double strand variety on the ambon of the Swiss church of Romainmôtier (Vaud), which has an outer plaited border (pl. XXXVI b), enclosing floral, rosette, and spiral patterns.[3] The Monastery of the Women at Zürich has some fragments of architectural aculpture with volutes and interlacing,[4] while fragments which were dug out from under the Romanesque church at Chur(Coire) in the Grisons include altar panels covered with close knit knotwork in triple-strand interlace(pl.XXXVI c) and a panel with a cross rendered in interlace.[5] Many of the fragments are decorated with vine scroll designs like those which were found at Zillis.[6] Interlace work in stone occurs at

[1] Hubert, pp. 30-1. pl. XXXIX d,e.;Enlart, I, pp.157-9.; Cabrol-LeClercq, col 2321.

[2] For general discussion of sculpture in Switzerland see S. Guyer, Die christlichen Denkmäler des ersten Jahrtausends in der Schweiz, in Studien über christlichen Denkmäler (1907),IV.

[3] Lasteyrie, pp. 221-2, fig. 223,Cabrol-LeClercq,fig.4681.

[4] J.R. Rahn, "Das Fraumünster in Zürich", Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich (1900),XXV, pp. 1 ff

[5] Lasteyrie, fig. 217.;Enlart, I, p.165.189.:"Beschreibung der Domkirche von Chur" Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich (1857), XI, pp. 151 ff and plates.

[6] E.v.Poeschel, "Die Baugeschichte von St.Martin in Zillis", Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archeologie und Kunstgeschichte (1939), I, pp. 21 ff.

Sch'annis. The fragments include slabs covered with interlocking squares and circles of triple-strand interlacing as well as smaller panels, lintels, and imposts with interlacing knot, side loop, and plaited motifs (pl. XXXVI d, XXXVII a-b).[1]

In southern and central France, there are fragmentary remains of sculptured panels, most of which are very difficult to date exactly; they are probably to be attributed to the ninth century. Chancel panels from the Cathedral of Vence (Alpes maritimes) are decorated with interlocking circles of triple-strand interlace. These enclose rosettes, heliacals, grapes, birds, and crosses (pl. XXXVII d).[2] To this one must add the chancel panel with plaited interlace from Volvic (Puy-de-Dôme) (like pl. XXXVI b), and the panel with a circular interlace design in the Museum Borely at Marseille (pl. XXXVIII a).[3] Panels with triple strand interlacing circle patterns also come from St. Pierre of Vienne(Isère)(pl XXXVIII b), St. Guilhem-du-Désert (Hérault)(like pl. XXXVIII b), and the museums of Arles(like pl. XXXVIII b), and Le Puy(pl. XXXVIII c).[4] To these one can add the

[1]J. R. Rahn, "Die Stiftskirche von Sch'annis", Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde (1912), New Series, XIV, pp. 60, 74, pl. XI.

[2]Lasteyrie, pp. 203, fig. 198, points out its analogies with Lombard work at Ovieto, Albenga, and Ste. Maria in Cosmedin at Rome.

[3]Lasteyrie, p. 204,fig. 202, fig. 207.

[4]Lasteyrie, fig. 210; Enlart, I, fig. 56, ; Lasteyrie, fig. 211, 213. Interlace designs with knots or breaks are rare in southern France.

strips of interlace on the epitaph of Bernoin, Bishop of Viviers (c. A.D. 873), which is at Bourg-Saint-Andéol (Ardèche)(like pl. XXXVI b), and the early example of circular interlacing from the tomb of St. Pons at Cimiez, which dates 775-800 (pl. XXXVIII d).[1] The circular patterns of triple-strand interlace, which were so popular south of the Loire, may well have inspired the interlocking interlace circles enclosing heliacal motifs, which also occur on fragments of balustrade panels at St. Martins of Angers (Maine-et-Loire)(pl.XXXVII c).[2] Panels with an essentially stylized heliacal and floral scroll ornament, which have stems rendered in triple-strand bands, occur at Aix-en-Provence, Vienne, Marseille, Avignon and Apt.[3] The ornament of the altar tables of the Cathedral of Besançon (Doubs) and Capestang (Hérault),which date to the ninth century, and of the later tenth century altar tables from Garriguette, the Cathedral of Gérone, the abbey of Montolien, and the cathedral of Rodez is non-barbaric. The same is true of the crudely wrought lintel ornaments of Champiex (Puy-de-Dôme) and the chapel of Aiguilhe (Puy-de-Dôme).[4] The sculptured panels

[1] Hubert, pl. XXXIX h, XXXIII f.

[2] Lasteyrie, p. 209, fig. 214. Bréhier, p. 197. This heliacal motif, which occurs at Vence and Angers, can be seen on slabs from the crypt of St. Seurin at Bordeaux, which are dated by Caumont on the basis of the study of Aquitanian sculptural remains to Merovingian times, and ly Lasteyrie to the eighth and ninth centuries.

[3] Lasteyrie, figs, 201, 205, 203, 204, 212, 215.

[4] Bréhier, pp. 195 ff

of central and south France differ stylistically from those of the North, although they share a common use of some interlace elements. This might be explained by a common source, Italy.

Arts and Crafts

The arts and crafts of the Carolingian age are known from some scraps of jewellery and pottery, a few pieces of ecclesiastical metalwork, a number of ivories, and some tales about textiles, long since lost. The metalwork and ivories were made in monastery workshops for the liturgical needs of the Church. Mediterranean elements dominated because of the character of the patronage.

The material furnished by chance finds and occasional excavations is too limited to provide a basis for constructing anything like a clear picture of Carolingian arts and crafts. The contemporary miniatures, however, serve to supplement our information for jewellery, tools, arms, armour, and details of costume are quite frequently depicted in them. With regard to costume, indeed, quite definite conclusions can be drawn. Men are thus shown wearing two tunics, the inner one with long sleeves and gathered together at the waist by a belt, and the outer one, a mantle resembling a chlamys fastened at the shoulder by a brooch. With these they wore short breeches and high stockings. The women wore a similar costume, except that the breeches were replaced by a skirt. The soldiers of the day wore helmets and padded tunics covered with small pieces of metal serving

as armour.[1]

Only the breeches and the brooches, which were of the round disk type, can be regarded as barbaric. The round brooches, which had been characteristic of the late Merovingian period, continued into the ninth century. A typical one is shown on the shoulder of Emperor Lothair in a Miniature from his Gospel book. (pl. VII a).[2] Unfortunately this type of jewellery is not to be found in the few known grave finds of Carolingian date. Cruciform plaques and pendants, which have been found in Rhineland sites, have the simplest type of geometric ornament, consisting of concentric circles and bands, occasionally relieved by a crude human figure. They cannot be connected in style or ornament with the earlier Migration jewellery (pl. VII b-e).[3] To these one can add the plaque from the female grave of La Tombelle near Crépy-en-Laonnais, which has the portrait of an empress rendered in repoussé and bordered by a cable design. The jewellery from the Carolingian graves at Essingy-le-Petit (Aisne) was still ornamented with stones, but the essential design was obtained by engraving.[4] The fragmentary remains from the

[1] Goldschmidt, pl. 53. Pauli epistolae (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 14345, fol 1v). British Museum, A Guide to the Medieval Room (1907), pp. 90-91.

[2] Boinet, pl. 30. Lothair Gospel book (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 266, fol 1v).

[3] Coutil, fig. opp. p. 92 depicts a series of pendants and plaques from museums in Metz, Trier, Mainz, Bonn, and Cologne.

[4] Bréhier, p. 182.

cemetery of Ste. Cécile de Portejoie (Eure) include a plain belt buckle and a fragmentary cross (pl. VII f).[1] These can hardly be regarded as barbaric. By the ninth century, Christian taste seems to have eliminated the last traces of barbaric taste from personal ornament.

Even less information is available with regard to Carolingian pottery. Finds from the Rhineland and Switzerland fall into four groups, which tend to reflect the emerging cultural areas within the German portion of the Carolingian Empire. The first group, which is named for the site of Pingsdorf (Landkreis Köln), is characterized by a red-brown to yellow fabric with a painted and stamped-incised decoration.[2] This pottery, which has its prototypes among Frankish funerary wares such as those of Soest,[3] is also known from nearby sites like Bonn and Widenrath(Landkreis Heinsberg).[4] It spread northwards from the northern Rheinprovinz and Westphalia to the Netherlands, where it is known from finds at Dorestad,[5] and thence by sea trade to

[1]Coutil, fig.opp.p. 48.

[2]Constantin Koenen, "Karolingische-frankische Töpferei bei Pingsdorf, "Bonner Jahrbücher (1898), 103, pp. 115 ff. It is a kiln site probably dating before the Viking raid of A.D. 881.

[3]A. Stieren, "Ein neuer Friedhof fränkischer Zeit in Soest", Germania (1930), XIV, pp. 166 ff.

[4]H.Lehner and W. Bader, "Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen am Bonner Münster", Bonner Jahrbücher(1932), 136, p. 186, pl. XIX. F. Rademacher, "Ein karolingischer Töpferofen bei Wildenrath, Kreis Heinsberg," Ibid (1927), 132, pp. 207 ff, pl. VII.

[5]W.C. Braat, "Funde mittelalterlicher Keramik in Holland und ihre datierung",Bonner Jahrbücher(1937),142,pp.157 ff.

Scandinavia.[1] The second group, which comes from the site of Dorestad, consists of gray conical pots, which can be traced back to the fifth century among the Low Saxons. It was an intrusive ware from northwestern Germany.[2] To the south of the Hercynian uplands, there is a third pottery group, which is known from finds at Trier and Nauborn near Wetzlar. This pottery, which has both Frankish and Roman prototypes, can be traced along the valleys of the Main and Kinzig as far as Fulda.[3] A few wide-mouthed jars from the excavations of the church at Reichen point to a fourth pottery group in Switzerland.[4] Unfortunately this is all the evidence except for some scraps of pottery from France[5] and Belgium[6] to the west and from Bavaria to the east.[7]

[1]Holger Arbman, "Schweden und das karolingische Reich", Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del. 43 (1937), pp. 87 ff.

[2]Bratt, loc. cit.

[3]L. Hussong,"Fruhmittelalterliche Keramik aus des Trier Bezirk",Trier Zeitschrift (1936), X, pp. 75 ff. pl. 3-4. The pottery from the Roman temple area is dated by coins of Ludwig (A.D. 814-840). W.Bader, "Archäologische Untersuchungen im Kreis Wetzlar", Bonner Jahrbücher (1934), 139, pp. 105 ff, pl. IX-X, figs. 5-6.

[4]Laur-Belart, "Die Kirche von Reichen", Zeitschrift für schweizerischer Archeologie und Kunstgeschichte (1943),V,pp.129 ff.

[5]Coutil, fig. opp. p. 48 illustrates some pottery from the Carolingian cemetery of Ste. Cécile de Portejoie (Eure).There is a great dearth of pottery in France for the Carolingian age.

[6]Baron de Loë, La période franque,IV, Belgique ancienne (1939), pp. 40-41.

[7]P. Reinecke, "Karolingische Keramik aus dem östlichen Bayern", Germania (1936), XX, pp. 198 ff. Scholarly opinion is not settled as to whether this pottery is German or Slavic.

The four known types of Carolingian pottery allow one to speculate upon the emergence of cultural areas along the Rhine. The pottery of Dorestad and northwest Germany would mark the area of the Low Saxons and the later Duchy of Saxony, while the Pingsdorf wares would fall within the lands of the Ripuarian Franks and the later Duchy of Lower Lorraine. The Nauborn and Trier wares come from the area of the Duchy of Franconia; the Reichen wares from Alemannic lands. This archaeological evidence, which points tentatively to the emergence of cultural areas, indicates that the regionalism which was to support the artistic particularism of the tenth and eleventh centuries, was inherent in the Carolingian age.

a Metalwork

Metalwork provides a fuller and more important guide to the character of barbaric influence in Carolingian art. The metalwork, which is representative of ecclesiastical rather than popular or local regional taste, shows the final displacement of the geometric-animal art of the barbarians, which had begun to wane with their acceptance of Christianity. One can trace the submergence of the old art and its replacement by foliate ornament and repoussé figure work, whose ultimate sources were in Italy, Byzantium, and the East. The intrucsion of new ornamental elements was accompanied by the development of new decorative techniques, which were demanded by the Carolingian taste for revived antique forms. The objection to relief, which had

characterized the "ornamental" Merovingian style with its emphasis on cloisonné and embroidery effects, was abandoned, permitting the development of ornamentation in different planes. The development of relief in both sculpture and metalwork was a natural result of the Carolingian renaissance and the return to antique principles. This stylistic change can be seen in the gradual replacement of the flat cloison-cells by simple raised cells, and finally by elevated raised settings, elaborately ornamented with minute arcades, acanthus, or palmette motifs. Garnets and glass paste gave way to a great variety of gems and stones, such as sapphires, emeralds, and pearls, which could at this time be obtained from the East. Antique gems and cameos continued to be used for insets. Filigree was used to imitate floral scrolls, and in the end filigree itself was often displaced by a more plastic representation of floral devices. The change was not sudden, for the "barbaric" and "classical" elements overlapped and interpenetrated throughout the early Carolingian period. The triumph of antique plastic ornament came only at the end of the ninth century.[1]

Early Carolingian metalwork is known from three distinctive ecclesiastical objects: the Kremsmünster chalice, the Enger reliquary, and the older Lindau Gospel cover. These three pieces, which are all dated to the late eighth century, have

[1] Peter Metz, "Das Kunstgewerbe von der Karolingerzeit bis zum Gotik", in H.Th.Bossert, Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes (1932),V, pp.197 ff. Brehier, pp. 181 ff. Picton, pp. 113 ff. Hinks, pp. 183 ff.

much in common from the point of view of style and ornament. The barbaric element is still outspoken. The works are not as yet affected by the classicizing tendencies of the Carolingian renaissance.

The chalice of the abbey of Kremsmünster(fig. 1) was a gift of Tassilo, Duke of Bavaria, to judge from the inscription in niello which encircles the base of the chalice: Tassilo dux fortis Liutpirg virga regalis. Thus the inscription would make Tassilo and his wife, Liutpirg, the donars of the chalice. It must be dated to the period between the foundation of the monastery of Kremsmünster by Tassilo in A.D. 777 and the deposition of Tassilo as Duke of Bavaria by Charlemagne in A.D. 788. Historically and artistically, the chalice might better be assigned to the end of the Merovingian age, for it must have been made under Bavarian patronage away from the center of the empire and before the full establishment of the revival movement. Nevertheless one must include it in any consideration of the beginnings of Carolingian metalwork, because it reflects styles and techniques current on the eve of the Carolingian renaissance.[1]

The chalice, which measures 26 cm. by 15 cm. ,consists of a cast copper cup, a spherical knob, and a beaten conical foot. It is ornamented with plaques and bands of silver, hammered

[1] J. Baum, La sculpture figurale en Europe à l'époque mérovingienne (1937), p. 100, pl. XLIII, 126. J. Braun, Meisterwerke der deutschen Goldschmiedekunst der vorgotischen Zeit(1922), I, pl. I. E. Molinier, "L'évolution des arts mineurs du VIII^e au XII^e siècle",in A. Michel, Histoire de l'art (1905) I,2. pp.837 ff Picton, pp. 115 ff, pl. VI 4. LXXXV 1. Metz, pp. 198 ff.

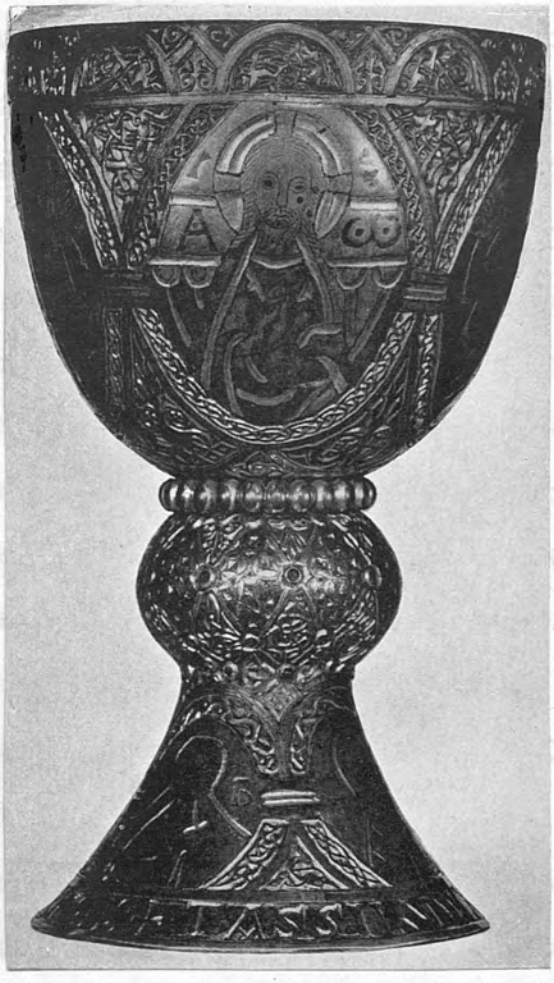


Fig. 1 The Kremsmünster Chalice.

into compartments chiselled out of the copper surface, and held in by undercut borders. The five ovoid silver plaques of the cup are decorated with figure representations of Christ and the four evangelists with their appropriate symbols. The plaques are encircled by bands of interlace knotwork. The spaces between the plaques have chiselled interlace zoomorphs, designed to fit the triangular spaces. The rim of the cup has a band of decoration consisting of semi-circles enclosing zoomorphic devices alternating with triangles surmounting stylized palmettes. The knob, which is separated from the cup by a band of large granulation, is ornamented with a series of diamond-shaped compartments filled with circles surrounding gouged-out squares. The conical base has plaques with representations of saints, which are encircled by bands of interlace. The base of the chalice is finished off with an inscription. While the form of the chalice follows the traditional early Christian type, the ornament and figure work have Northern affinities. The bands of interlace knotwork (pl. XLII a-b), the interlaced zoomorphs set in triangular and semi-circular spaces(pl. LXXXVII c-d), and the circles circumscribing gouged-out Kerbschnitt squares (pl. XXIV a) have Northern analogies. The figure work, which has been compared with that of the Cutbercht Gospels, must be examined for the possibilities of Island influence, for Brøndsted regards the Kremsmünster chalice as a creation of Anglo-Saxon artisans working in Bavaria. He would go so far as to say craftsmen working

in the South English style.[1]

The Enger reliquary(fig. 2), which shows another aspect of Northern influence in Carolingian art, was originally in the collegiate church of Dionysius at Enger in Westphalia. It was moved to the church at Herford in the fifteenth century, whence it was taken to Berlin in the nineteenth century. Before the war it was in the Schlossmuseum. It is dated on the basis of literary evidence to the time of the conversion of Widukind, whose baptism in A.D. 785 was followed by his foundation of the church at Enger. The reliquary is assumed to have been a gift to the church at this time. While the dating evidence is slim, the reliquary may well have been made under the patronage of Widukind, between the time of his baptism in A.D. 785 and his death in A.D. 807.[2]

The Enger reliquary, which measures 13.5 cm long by 15.5 cm high, has a purse-shaped form. It consists of gold and

[1]J. Brøndsted, Early English Ornament(1924), pp. 150-2, pp. 157-158, fig. 126-7, believes that the Kremsmünster chalice of Tassilo was a South English-Continental creation of the late eighth or early ninth century. The mixture of Island elements, which Brøndsted calls Irish, with Merovingian elements is compared with that of the older Lindau cover and the Fejo cup(National Museum, Copenhagen). He believes the loose careless drawing of the animals coupled with the three-cornered expansion of the animal body and the limbs running off into interlace must be South English. It would have been made by Anglo-Saxon artisans working in Bavaria.

[2]Baum, p. 98, pl. XXXVIII,118-9; H.Kühn, Die Vorgeschtichtliche Kunst Deutschlands (1935), pp. 187-8, p. 567, pl. 480.; Picton, pp. 116-7, pl. V. fig. 1-2.; LeClercq, "Chasse", in Cabrol-LeClercq,Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétien(1923). III 1, col. 1132.; Metz, pp.198 ff.; M.Rosenberg, Zellenschmelz,III Geschichte der Goldschmiedekunst (1922), pp. 67 ff, figs. 106-111. Braun, p. 2, pl. 3.

Fig. 2 The Enger Reliquary.

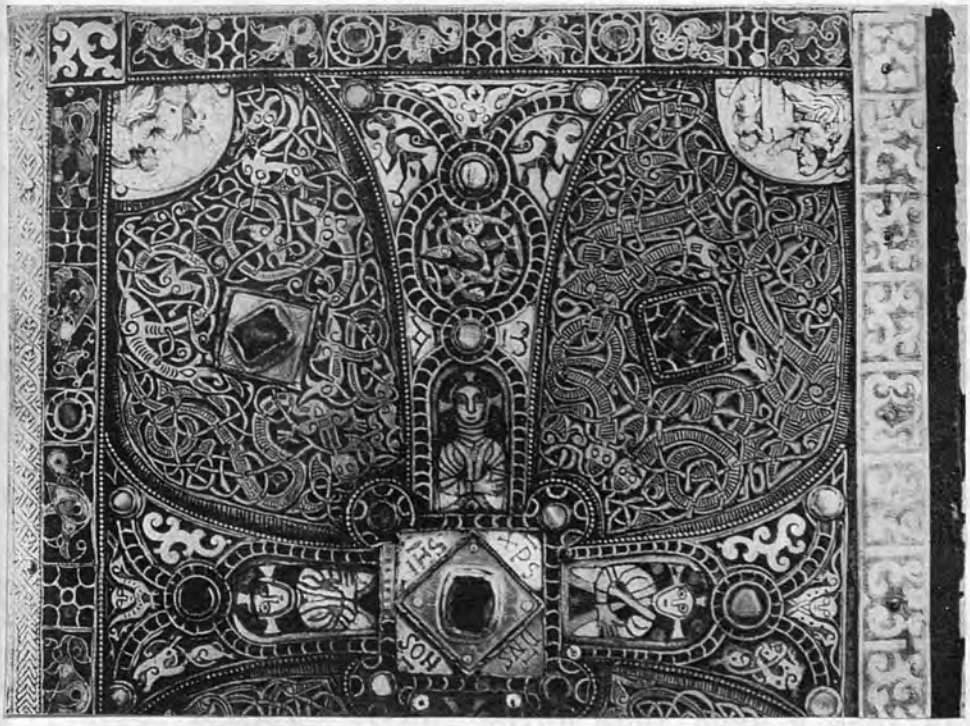


Fig. 3 The Older Lindau Gospel Cover.

silver plaques fastened over an oak core. The reverse side has two rows of arcaded figures, the top tier with a central figure of Christ flanked by two angels and the bottom tier with a central figure of the Virgin flanked by Peter and Paul. The arcading and borders separating the figures and running around the reliquary are decorated with repoussé granulation. The two ends are decorated with superimposed arcaded figures of angels, also bordered by repoussé granulation. The bottom is decorated with interlace wrought in similar repoussé granulation. The top is surmounted by two lions with scroll-like tails upon which rest the heads of three smaller lions.[1] The outer edges of the reliquary have a Kerbschnitt border with a granulated edge (pl. X b). The front has an ornamental field broken into four compartments by a rudimentary cross. The center of the cross consists of an inset stone encircled by pearls. The cloisonné arms of the cross terminate in inset gems and stones. Each of the four compartments, which are centered by an inset stone, has stylized birds, fish, or S-shaped zoomorphs rendered in cloisonné (pl. LXXXVII a-d). These zoomorphs are enclosed by cloisonné bands (pl. XXIV c). The inset stones and gems (pl. XI a) and the cloisinné have obvious

[1] K.Grober, "Ein Taschen reliquiar aus dem 7 Jahrhundert", Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst (1938-9),XIII, pp. 7-11,figs. 1-2,reports the discovery of the seventh century Ennabeuren reliquary in 1936. It is important here because the crudely rendered animals across the top foreshadow the lions of the Enger reliquary. Similar lions, which must have a Mediterranean or Eastern source, still occur on the tenth century Bursa reliquary of Monza. See Metz, fig. p. 215. The lion decoration also occurs on the Utrecht reliquary, which may be contemporary with the Enger reliquary. See Molinier, p. 838.

Northern affinities. The Kerbschnitt and zoomorphs must obviously derive from a barbaric source, while the repoussé figure work shows possible Northern stylistic affinities.[1]

The older of the two Lindau Gospel covers(fig 3), which is now in the J.P. Morgan Library of New York, was in the monastery of Lindau on Lake Constanz until 1803.[2] This work was probably done in Alemannic territory at St. Gall around A.D. 800.[3] Although the exact date is undertain, it must be assigned to the late eighth or early ninth century.[4]

[1]Molinier, p. 838. The episcopal treasure of Utrecht has a small reliquary ornamented with cloisonné, and engraved or granulated interlace. Molinier believes these ornamental affinities with the Enger reliquary are sufficient to date the Utrecht reliquary to the late eighth century.

[2]For general discussion see: Baum, p. 99, pl. XL,122.; Rosenberg, pp. 69 ff.; Braum, pl. 4.; Metz, p. 198, fig. p. 199.; Picton, pp. 117-118, pl. VI 5.; Jenny and Volbach, Germanischer Schmuck des fruhen Mittelalters (1933), p. 31, 53, pl. 63.; G. Micheli, " Recherches sur les manuscrits irlandais décorés de St. Gall", Revue archéologique (1936). pp. 70 ff.; Braum, p.2 , pl. 4.

[3]Rosenberg, pp. 74-5, points out that there are no inscriptions or historical sources for dating the older Lindau cover. It must be dated on stylistic grounds by comparison with the Lindisfarne ornamental pages of A.D. 720 and the later Irish metalwork covers of as late as A.D. 880. He believes that these analogies coupled with the affinities of the figures with those of the Werden ivory casket and the eighth century Burgundian belt buckles would support a date of around A.D. 800, He would localize the work at St. Gall, whence it could easily have been transferred to the nearby monastery of Lindau.

[4]Brøndsted, pp. 151 ff, p. 157, regards the distinctive zoomorphs above and below the central medallion on the cross as copies of the Scandinavian "Gripping Beast". This first appears in the early ninth century, so that if Brøndsted is correct, his analysis affords important evidence in favor of a early ninth century date.

The book cover, which measures 34 cm. by 27 cm. consists of a series of metal strips and plaques fastened to a board by pins. The cover has undergone some restoration and parts of it are to be assigned to a later date. The Evangelists of the corners may have replaced inset stones, and date from the Renaissance, while the lower and right hand borders, and a few insets in the cross date from the eighteenth century. The original ornament, which was executed in cloisonné enamel, champlevé enamel, inset cloisonné, and inset stone work,, is set within a cruciform framework. The arms of the cross, which radiate from a central inset stone are decorated with figures of Christ in champlevé enamel; the enamel is blue and touched with flecks of orange red, and framed by by inset stones (pl. XI b) and bands of garnet inlay. In addition there are circles of garnet cloisonné (pl. XXIV d), some enclosing inset stones, and some encircling zoomorphic medallions. The spaces between the medallions and the figures on the cross are filled with cut-out appliqué metal zoomorphs (pl. LXXXIX a-d). The fields between the arms of the cross are filled with interlacing zoomorphic designs cut into the metal (pl. XC a-d). The center of each field consists of a metal square containing an inset stone (pl. XI c-d). The original borders are decorated with cloisonné enamel zoomorphs or animal figures (pl. LXXXVIII a-d), separated by cloisonné designs of a geometric type. The outer left border, which is characterized by a cursive interlace design, may be a later

addition (pl. XLIX c-d). The inset cloisonné and inset stones have barbaric antecedents. The cut-out and engraved zoomorphs, which are similar to those of the Enger reliquary and the Tassilo chalic, are Northern.

Later Carolingian metalwork, such as the Milan altar antependium (A.D. 835), the reliquary of Pepin (A.D. 838), and the covers of the Psalter of Charles the Bald (A.D. 860-870), the Codex aureus cover (A.D. 870), the Lindau Ashburnham cover(A. D. 890), and the Evangelium longum cover (A.D. 890), has an increasingly classical flavor. The zoomorphs and interlacing are replaced by floral scrolls and geometric designs with Mediterranean sources. Barbaric taste, however, survives in the luxurious use of inset stones and gems, even though these are now given an increasingly elaborate setting decorated with floral motifs

The advent of the Carolingian renaissance style is well illustrated by the altar antependium(fig. 4) of S. Ambrogio in Milan. This work is assigned to Magister Wolvinus on the basis of the inscription on the antependium, Vvolvinus magister phaber. While some regard Wolvinus as a Lombard of North Italy, others would identify him with Vussin, a pupil mentioned in Einhard's letters.[1] The antependium, which must be dated not later than

[1] A.Haseloff, Pre-Romanesque Sculpture in Italy (1930), pp. 63 ff. pl. 71-2. The date is based upon a detailed inscription and figures representing Archbishop Angilbert II (824-859) and Vvolvinus. This is further confirmed by an ordinance of A.D. 835 stating that Angilbert II rebuilt the high altar of S. Ambrogio. Molinier, pp. 840-2, would assign the work to Milan. He

A.D. 835, consists of three groups of six panels of repoussé figure work in a style akin to that of Carolingian manuscripts. The central group is dominated by an oval panel with a representation of the enthroned Christ. The linear precision and the fluttering quality of the figures, which is akin to the Utrecht Psalter style, is Northern, illustrating the barbaric love of movement and exciting gestures.[1] The silver acanthus border along the bottom and the fretwork pattern along the top have an antique inspiration, while the ornamental borders, which are done in emamel cloisonné (pl. X a-d), filigree, granulation, and set with inset stones (pl. XII a-b), have geometric and floral motifs. The Sassanian-like palmette (pl. X c), which Rosenberg would derive from palm stems occurs also in earlier Italian mosaics.[2] The heart-shaped motif of the borders is obviously non-barbaric. Only the use of stones and filigree and possibly the fluttering movement of the repoussé figures can be regarded as Northern or barbaric in spirit. The ninth century Milan antependium may well be the creation of a Frankish craftsman working in Italy under strong Byzantine and Eastern influences.[3]

points out that while the technique is Byzantine, stylistic pecularities indicate that it was made by an Italian rather than a Byzantine artist. See Hinks, pp. 189 ff.; Metz, pp. 201 ff. pl. XII and fig on p. 203.; and Picton, pp. 118 ff.

[1] Hinks, pp. 193 ff.

[2] Rosenberg, pp. 60-61.

[3] Haseloff, pp. 63 ff.; Hinks, pp. 189 ff. ; Picton, pp. 118 ff. pl. LXXXVI,LXXXVII.; Metz, pp. 201 ff, pl. XII.

Nearly contemporary with the Milan antependium is the reliquary of Pepin, which is in the treasury of Conques. This work, which was a gift of Pepin of Aquitaine (A.D. 817-838) to the abbey of Conques, foreshadows the later Carolingian metalwork. The front of the reliquary has a crucifixion scene rendered in repoussé. The cross is edged with inset stones and bordered by two inset enamel cloisonné plaques. The field is ornamented with filigree fleur-de-lis (pl. XII d) and bordered by bands of inset stones in simple settings, which are surrounded by filigree work (pl. XII c). The back of the reliquary has three recessed niches with cloisonné enamel plaques. They are surmounted by two opposed eagles, which can only be derived from the Byzantine East. The borders are also decorated with inset stones and filigree. Although this work must be regarded as a provincial effort, created under Italian and Byzantine influence, the inset stone and filigree work have Northern affinities.[1]

Chronologically, the two covers of the Psalter of Charles the Bald (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale), which date to about A.D. 860-870, would follow the Milan antependium and the reliquary of Pepin. These covers consist of ivory plaques with metalwork frames. The metal ornament of the lower cover (fig. 5) consists of a floral scroll wrought in geometric filigree (pl. XII a-b), whose ends terminate in granules, recalling work of the Migration period. There are also a few widely spaced inset

[1]Hubert, p. 132, pl. XXIV a-b. Molinier, p. 842.

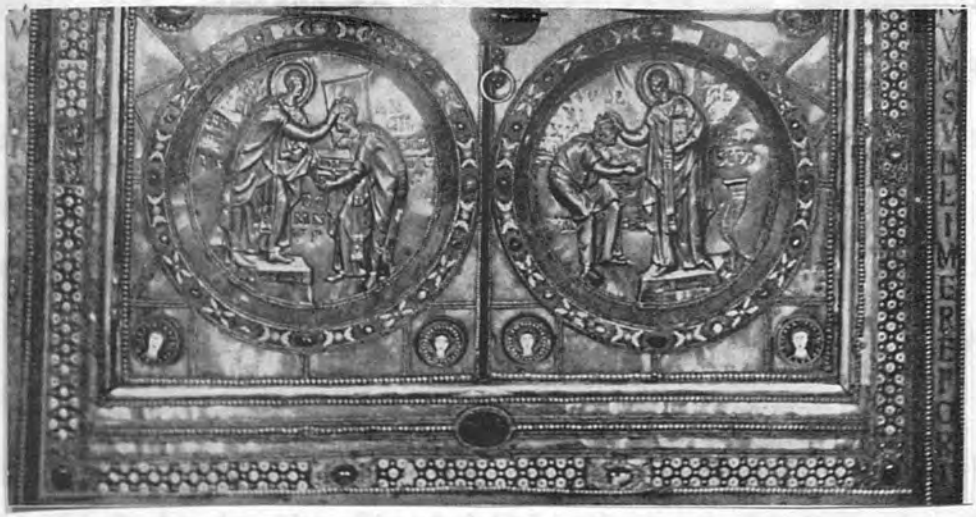


Fig. 4 Detail of the Milan Altar Antependium.

Fig. 5 Lower Cover of the Psalter of Charles the Bald.

Fig. 6 Cover of the Codex aureus of St. Emmeram.

stones placed in cruciform patterns. The barbaric element is restricted, limited to the use of filigree techniques and of inset stone work.[1] The upper cover is ornamented with inset stones placed in plain settings, which are edged with granulation (pl. XIII c). The crude cross-like bar work in the field of the border can hardly be considered as filigree.[2] The filigree and inset stone work of these metalwork borders offer an ideal setting for the ivories.

The metalwork of the Codex aureus of St. Emmeram (fig. 6), which is in the Staatsbibliothek at Münich, is characteristic of late Carolingian work. Although some scholars have attempted to make the ornamental borders of this cover Ottonian, the figure work is certainly Carolingian. The ornament probably dates to the late ninth century, about A.D. 870. The late tenth century restoration of the cover by the monks Arlbo and Adalbert probably only involved the addition of new granulation and the replacement of some of the gems and stones.[3] The Codex aureus cover consists of five gold repoussé plaques with figures in a style akin to that of the Utrecht Psalter. This has led some scholars to assign it to the atelier of Reims. Friend would localize it

[1]Metz, p. 204.;Picton, p. 120, pl. LXXXII 1,; Molinier p. 843, fig. 439.

[2]Molinier, p. 843, fig. 438.

[3]Metz, pp. 206 ff. fig. p.207, pl. XIII.; Picton, pp. 120 ff. pl. LXXXIV 1-2, LXXXVIII 2.; Molinier, pp. 850-1, pl. XI.; Braun, p. 2. pl. 5-6.

at St. Denis on the basis of iconography.[1] Apart from the obviously non-barbaric figure work of the plaques, there are borders with inset stones on a filigree field (pl. XIII d). The individual mounts are decorated with granulated arcades and repoussé floral motifs set off by beading. The style with its richness of decoration retains a barbaric spirit, but the underlying ornament, despite the continuing use of barbaric techniques of filigree and inset stone work, is antique. Flat pattern work has been replaced by a more plastic ornament with antique affinities.

The Lindau Ashburnham cover (New York, J.P. Morgan Library),(fig. 7), which is dated to about A.D. 880, has an ornamental style akin to that of the Codex aureus. The figure of the crucified Christ and the smaller figures of the four adjacent ornamental fields may well be the product of the same atelier that produced the Codex aureus cover. The ornament, which consists of borders surrounding the crucifix and the edge

[1]A. M. Friend, "Carolingian Art in the Abbey of St. Denis", Art Studies, American Journal of Archaeology (1923),Extra Number I, pp 67 ff. His conclusion is based on an elaborate theory of the influence of the concept of the Celestial Hierarchy of Dionysius, the Areopagite. Briefly, this work which was a present from the Byzantine Emperor Michael to the Emperor Lothair, was given by Lothair to the Abbey of St. Denis. It was translated by John the Scot in A.D. 858 (the year of its dedication to Charles the Bald). Friend points out that the influence of this translation can be seen in the increase in the number of angels in old scenes and the insertion of angels into scenes which never had them. Even more important was the eclipse theory of Dionysius which led the artist to show the moon returning to the east after the eclipse. On the basis of iconography, Friend assigns it with related works,such as the British Museum crystal and the Munich ivory, to St. Denis.

of the book cover, and four rosettes set in the repoussé plaques flanking the crucifix, continues the style of the Codex aureus ornament. The outer border has three rows of inset stones, which are separated by a plastic floral design (pl. XIV a). The inset stone technique, which goes back to barbaric sources, has been used to render a completely antique ornament. Northern taste, however, is still manifest in the over-elaboration and the excessive richness of the decoration.[1]

The culmination of the tendencies exhibited in the Codex aureus and the Lindau Ashburnham covers may be seen in the portable altar (fig 8), which was given by Arnulf (A.D. 887-899) to the monastery of St. Emmeram in A.D. 893. This portable altar, which is preserved in the Reich Kapelle at Minich, consists of a roofed structure with repoussé figures surrounded by elaborate ornamental work. There are inset stones with rich openwork settings and simple box settings. There is granulation and filigree which has become almost plastic in its attempt to represent antique floral motifs (pl. XIV b). Only the style with its crowded luxuriant use of stones and motifs can be regarded as Northern.[2]

The final submergence of the barbaric spirit in metal-work is illustrated by the Evangelium longum covers (fig. 9) of St. Gall, which date to the end of the ninth century. The silver-

[1] Metz, p. 206. Picton, pp. 121 ff. pl. LXXXVIII.

[2] Metz, p. 206. Picton, p. 122, pl. LXXXVII 2-3.

Fig. 7 Lindau Ashburnham Cover.

Fig. 8. Detail of the Portable Altar of Arnulf.

Fig. 9 Evangelium longum Cover.

gilt frame, which encloses an ivory plaque, has an entirely plastic floral ornament.(pl. XIV c). Even the frames of the square inset stones of the four corners have a floral ornament handled in a plastic manner. There is hardly a trace of Northern or barbaric influence in this work, which marks the triumph of antique and Eastern elements.[1] The style of the St. Gall book cover is continued in the tenth century by the plastic repoussé ornament of the back cover of the Gospels of St. Goslin, which are preserved in the treasury of the cathedral of Nancy. It has a central cross and borders ornamented with a plastic floral scroll (pl. XIV d). The four fields separated by the cross have repoussé representations of the symbols of the four evangelists. The front cover retains the more common inset stone and filigree border.[2]

To this chronological series of Carolingian metalwork one must add a group of objects which are known only from later drawings or which have been altered almost beyond recognition by restoration. The great pendant reliquary of Charlemagne,which is known from an eighteenth century drawing, seems to have consisted of three superimposed arcaded with inset stones and jewel pendants. The St. Denis altar antependium, which is known from a Flemish painting of the late fifteenth century, had a series of arcaded repoussé figures and borders decorated with

[1]Picton, pl. LXXXI 3. Molinier, fig. 441,442.

[2]Molinier, pp. 846-848, fig.451.

inset stones. The Bamberg book cover (Munich, Staatsbibliothek) and the Seeheim cover clasp (Darmstadt, Landesbibliothek) have been restored in later times. To the major works, one must add the Liebfrauen reliquary of Hildesheim, the Ardenne cross (Nürnberg, Germanische Museum), the reliquary of St. Stephan (Vienna, Kaiserschatz), the Codex aureus cover of the church at Sächingen, the patena of Charles the Bald (Paris, The Louvre), and a ring from Lorsch (Darmstadt, Landesmuseum).[1] The chalice of Charles the Bald, which was made from a sardonyx vase of Ptolemaic date, has Carolingian metalwork fittings with inset stone work.[2] These works, some of which are difficult to date and often impossible to fit into a chronological series, have ornament similar to that of the major monuments.

The development of Carolingian metalwork from the late eighth century to the end of the ninth century, when it begins to foreshadow the metalwork of the Ottonian age, shows how the barbaric style, which was so dominant in the Kremsmünster chalice, the Enger reliquary, and the older Lindau cover, gradually gave way before the new style ushered in by the Carolingian renaissance. The Northern ornamental motifs were swept away by a wave of revived antique and imported Eastern forms. These were rendered in the barbaric techniques of filigree, cloisonné, and inset stone work. At the same time these Mediterranean and

[1]Metz, pp. 204 ff.

[2]Molinier, p. 843.

Oriental motifs were subjected to enrichment and over-elaboration to suit the taste of the North. The transition can be shown by comparing the covers of the Psalter of Charles the Bald with the Codex aureus of St. Emmeram cover. With the later Lindau Ashburnham cover and the Arnulf portable altar the ornament became increasingly floral and increasingly elaborate. While the motifs have antique sources, the stylistic development must be ascribed to Germanic taste. With the end of the ninth century, the two tendencies which had established themselves in the course of the last half of the ninth century were manifest in Carolingian art. A purely plastic tendency can be seen in the repoussé ornament of the St. Gall Evangelium longum cover, whose style is continued by the tenth century St. Gozlin cover, while an ornamental tendency is manifest in the Lindau Ashburnham cover, foreshadowing the tenth century Bursa reliquary of Monza and the eleventh century Reichkreuz of the Vienna Schatzkammer.

b. Ivories

The art of ivory carving, which had largely disappeared in the West after the end of the sixth century, reappeared as a part of the revival of the arts under Charlemagne. Ivory, which was brought in from the East after the revival of trade with the Moslems, was carved into diptychs, book covers, and liturgical combs by monastic craftsmen. The ivories, despite the emphasis on dramatic effect and surface pattern and tecture, were based upon fifth and sixth century models. This is particularly true of

the Ada group of ivories, which includes the Louvre book cover (David playing the harp), the Leipzig cover bearing the archangel Michel, the Victoria and Albert cover with the Madonna, the Darmstadt Ascension cover, and a great number of other ivories scattered through the museums of Europe.[1] These ivories, which are regarded as early ninth century products of the court atelier at Aix-la-Chapelle, have affinities with late antique ivories, such as the Monza diptych and the British archangel, or the sixth century consular diptychs.[2] The Liuthard ivories include book covers in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the Staatsbibliothek, Munich(fig. 12); and the liturgical comb in the Victoria and Albert.[3] They are attributed to the third quarter of the ninth century and the atelier of St. Denis. They have a freer composition and seem to have been influenced by manuscripts, to judge from their pictorial character. Besides the main group of Liuthard ivories, there are ivories which were made under influences radiating from St. Denis.[4] The Metz group of ivories, which represents a compromise between the Ada and Liuthard styles, includes the Paris Gospel cover (fig. 11) and the Drogo Sacramentary cover, the Frankfurt ivory tablet, the Paris casket, and

[1]A. Goldschmidt, Die Elfenbeimskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächsischen Kaiser (1914), I.; Hinks, pp. 167, 182, 186, 195 ff.; Picton, pp. 109 ff. pl. LXXIX-LXXXII.

[2]Goldschmidt, pp. 6 ff, pl. III, VI, XI.

[3]Goldschmidt, pp. 22 ff, pl. XIX, XX, XXVI.

[4]Goldschmidt, pp. 66 ff.

Fig. 10 Darmstadt Ivory

Fig. 11 Paris Ivory

Fig. 12 Munich Liuthard Ivory

the liturgical comb of St. Heribert.[1] To these ivories of the three major Carolingian schools one must add the smaller groups of ivories which have been assigned to the ateliers at Tours and St. Gall as well as to schools located in Belgium, the Lower Rhineland, southwest Alemannic Germany, Switzerland, and North Italy.[2]

Most of these ivories are free from barbaric motifs. The themes, motifs, and much of the style have an antique and Christian inspiration, although the composition and cut-out work with gold backgrounds is typically Northern. Northern elements also manifest themselves in patterned ornamental surface composition and the over-elaboration of the ornament of the frame. Nevertheless, most of the Carolingian ivories constitute a conscious revival of the antique.

More markedly Northern is a small group of three ivories which come from two different parts of the Carolingian realm. The first is the much discussed Genoels-Elderen diptych(Brussels , Musée cinquantenaire),[3] which was once in the church of St. Martin of Genoels-Elderen (Limbourg), has a representation of Christ flanked by two angels and bordered by fretwork on one leaf, and a representation of the Annunciation and Visitation bordered by

[1] Goldshmidt, pp. 38 ff, pl. XXXI, XLI, XXXIX.

[2] Goldschmidt, pp 67, 72, 80, 84, 86 ff.

[3] Goldschmidt, pl. I-II.; Baum, pp. 99-100, pl.XLI,123-4; Marcel Laurent, Les ivoires prégothiques conservés en Belgique (1912), pp. 26 ff. pl. II-III.

interlace on the other leaf. This ivory, which is dated to about A.D. 800, has been assigned to the Ada group on the basis of the affinities of its figure style with that of the manuscripts of the Ada-Godescalc school.[1] While the figure work may well have been inspired by the same prototype which was behind the Ada-Godescalc Gospels, the interlace knotwork (pl. LXIII a) and fretwork (pl. CXVI a) borders have Island analogies. These decorative features, however, do not necessarily indicate that the diptych was an Irish or Anglo-Saxon product, for they also occur in manuscripts of the Ada-Godescalc and Franco-Saxon schools.[2] This ivory is best explained as a creation of the Rhenish Ada-Godescalc school, dating to the late eighth or early ninth century.

The ivory tablet in the Victoria and Albert museum and the book cover of the National Museum, Munich, which are assigned to the school of Tours, are ornamented with inhabited vine scrolls and the Anglian beast motif, which can only be explained in termsof Island influence. The Victoria and Albert

[1] Laurent, pp. 33 ff, points out the resemblence of the Christ with that of the Gospels of St. Médard of Soissons and compares the visitation scene on the other leaf with that of the initial page of the same Gospel. The figure work would be ascribed to Oriental models, such as the Syrian Rabula Gospels. This conclusion is strengthened by comparisons with the paintings of the Coptic church at Saqqara. It is also pointed out that ivories, such as the Tongres ivory, which may have been imported from the East in the seventh or eighth century, may well have provided the inspiration for the figure work.

[2] Paul Clemen, "Merowingische und karolingische Plastik", Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande (1892), LXXXII, pp. 125 ff regards this ivory as a creation of the British Isles.

ivory[1] has borders ornamented with an inhabited vine scroll (pl. VIII a) surrounding two rectangular compartments, one with two opposed birds (pl. IX a), the other with two opposed animals (pl. IX b). Both the animals and birds are enmeshed in interlace. The inhabited vine scroll (pl. VIII b) of the Munich tablet has definite Island affinities, although the occurrance of the acanthus leaf indicates that it was a continental creation.[2]

These three ivories from the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century with their Island interlace, fretwork, and animal motifs must be regarded as isolated products, in view of the fact that the overwhelming bulk of the ivories are in an antique revival style modified by Northern taste. While one can point to the Evangelium longum ivories (fig. 9), which were made at St. Gall by the monk Tutilo towards the end of the ninth century as evidence of the possible survival of Island influence,[3] the mass of ivories are nevertheless antique.

Painting

The revival of antique art brought the reappearance of the human figure in the art of the West. The Merovingian style

[1]Brøndsted, pp. 90-91, fig. 76.;Goldschmidt, p. 85, pl. LXXXIII.; Clapham,I, pp.63 ff, points out that the inhabited vine scroll and Anglian beast should be regarded as barbaric transformations of essentially Oriental motifs. See also. M.H Longhurst Catalogue of Carvings in Ivory(Victoria and Albert Museum,1927) I, p. 66, pl. XLV b.

[2]Brøndsted, pp. 90-91, fig.77.Goldschmidt, pl.LXXXIII.

[3]Goldschmidt, p.80, pl.LXXV.;Picton,pl.LXXXI,3;Molinier, pp.825,figs 441-2. The figure treatment could have been inspired by Oriental models.

with its insistence upon fantastic ornament derived from an abstract imaginary world was swept away or overlaid by a style consciously based on antique and eastern sources. The broad characteristics of the Carolingian style and the extent of the survival of barbaric elements can best be traced in the paintings of the day. While there is an adequate number of manuscripts with illuminations and miniatures, there are only a very few fragmentary wall paintings. The smaller panel paintings, the tabulae, tabellae, and picturae in tabula mentioned in the Libri carolini have unfortunately vanished with the passage of time.

Most of the mural paintings of the Carolingian period are known only from literary records, such as that of Pseudo-Turpinus, who writes of the Old and New Testament scenes in the Palace Chapel, and representations of the Seven Liberal Arts and the wars of Charlemagne in Spain on the palace walls at Aix-la-Chapelle. Ermold the Black in his poem De gestis Ludovici Caesaris describes the cycles of Biblical and historical paintings of the palace of Ingelheim. Church paintings, such as those of the abbeys of Flavigny, Fulda, and St. Gall are likewise only known from contemporary writers.[1] There are, however, three fragmentary remains of paintings: the crypt paintings of St. Germain d'Auxerre, the wall paintings of the church of Münster in Graubünden, and the fragments of painting from the excavations at Lorsch. The paintings of St. Germain d'Auxerre, which decorated

[1]Hinks, pp. 99 ff.; Hubert, pp. 118 ff.; Picton, pp. 105-6

the upper walls of the oratory of the crypt, depict the call, judgement, and martyrdom of Saint Stephen. Unfortunately, they are difficult to date, but there is a statement of Bishop Heribald (A.D. 829-857) that he placed a silver altar in the tomb of St. Stephen and decorated the church with paintings. One might assume, therefore, that the crypt paintings date to the second quarter of the ninth century.[1] Although the figures and costume treatment has analogies in ninth century manuscripts, the composition, informality of gesture, and the lack of stiffness would hardly indicate that these crypt paintings were inspired by manuscript miniatures. The same is true of the paintings at Lorsch and Münster. While some scholars have pointed to the similarity of color between the Lorsch paintings and the Ada miniatures, the rendering of details, such as eyes and nostrils, which are all that can be known from the fragments, points to something beyond the miniature.[2] The paintings of the church at Münster in Graubünden, which were found just under the roof, but above the vaulting of the present church, have a narrative presentation of the life of Absalom. These paintings, with each

[1]Hubert, pp. 123 ff, pl. XXII c-e. On the other hand E. S. King, "The Carolingian Frescoes of the Abbey of St. Germain d'Auxerre", The Art Bulletin (1929), XI, pp. 23 ff, would connect these paintings on stylistic grounds with the miniatures of St. Denis of the time of Charles the Bald. He states that the best analogies are with the miniatures of the Bible of St. Paul-without the-Walls (A.D. 869), and the Gospels of Charles the Bald (A.D. 870). Thus on comparative grounds he would date the Auxerre paintings, not to the time of Bishop Heribald, but between 870 and the death of Charles the Bald in 877.

[2]Behn, p. 63, pl. 20-23. Picton, p. 51.

scene set off from the others by a decorative frame, follow the late antique tradition of the Latin West.[1] The mural paintings of Lorsch, Auxerre, and Münster represent a development which cannot be explained in terms of the manuscripts. They may well go back to the tradition of the frescoes of the catacombs, some of which, it must be remembered, were painted in the chapels of the martyrs at Rome as late as the ninth and tenth centuries, as in the Commodilla catacomb. The western source of the Carolingian mural paintings is further supported by the fact that the thematic material for painting, which is known from the writers of the day, reflects the works of Prudentius, St. Nilius, Augustine, and Isidore of Seville, which had a great vogue in the West during the Carolingian age. The wall paintings of the churches, palaces, and crypts, which were rendered in a style distinct from that of the manuscripts would probably represent the persistence or revival of the early Christian art of the Latin West. There are no barbaric elements.

The same is true of the restored mosaics of Germigny-des-Prés, which depict two angels with interlocking wings. They are rendered in a late antique style, colored with Byzantine elements. The mosaics, which were destroyed during the reconstruction of 1870, depicted stylized plants and floral scrolls, which to judge from drawings, derived from the art of the

[1] A. Schmarsow, "Uber die karolingisch Waldmalereien zu Münster in Graubünden", Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft (1908), I, pp. 387 ff. Picton, pp. 105-6, pl. LXXVII a.

Mediterranean world.[1]

The illuminations and miniatures of the Carolingian Bibles, Gospels, Psalters, Sacramentaries, and Secular works such as those of Cassiodorus, Terence, and Prudentius, though united by a brilliant orderly style which sets them off from the chaotic undisciplined Merovingian manuscript art, fall into regional groups or schools which can be differentiated on the basis of style and iconography as well as ornament. It is not our task here to dwell on problems of this type, for our objective is the determination of the extent of barbaric influence in Carolingian art. The problems of iconography and the source and character of Biblical, apocryphal, hagiographic, and allegorical themes have been studied by many scholars. The content of the illumination with its eastern Canon Tables and baldacchino pavilions, its antique and eastern floral and faunal motifs, and its revived human figural elements will be examined only in its relation to the problem of Northern elements. The stylistic rendering is more important, for in their attempt to revive the antique perceptual treatment of form, the Carolingian artists created a style of their own. Although they borrowed the plastic construction of the human figure, the figure poses and formulae, the schemes of proportion, and the methods of organizing space for a narrative art, the Northern love of linear effects, pattern, texture, and material transformed these borrowings into the

[1] Hubert, p. 115.

distinctive Carolingian style. This is manifest in the congestion, lack of background, and pattern effects, in the compromise between the Northern desire to render figures and motifs as surface ornament and the Mediterranean objective of pictorial representation. The ornamental drive of Northern art was constantly intruding into the revival style of the Carolingian period. One must remember that the Classical heritage, which was revived by the court of Charlemagne, was in turn modified and transformed by the barbaric and church art inherited from Merovingian times and by artistic elements which had been borrowed from the British Isles. Carolingian art was a transformation of antique and eastern elements under strong Northern influence. Although Mediterranean floral and faunal motifs and didactic and narrative thematic materials routed much of the older barbaric ornament, the Northern passion for ornamentation and surface effects constantly made itself felt in the rendering of this revived and borrowed heritage.[1]

Barbaric elements in the manuscript illuminations and miniatures manifest themselves above all in the motifs and patterns of ornament. The barbaric influence on style is more subtle and difficult to describe because of its complex metamorphosis of composition and rendering. It is only obvious in

[1] Hinks, particularly pp 198 ff., has an excellent discussion of the problem of style and the influence of the North. For iconography see Leitschuh, Geschichte der karolingischen Malerei (1894). Also see P. Leprieur, "La peinture en occident du V^e au X^e siècle en dehors de l'Italie", in Michel, Histoire de l'art (1905), I 1, pp. 321 ff. Bréhier, pp. 157 ff. Goldschmidt, I, pp. 3 ff.

isolated cases of drapery twisted into spiral folds, of classical ornament transformed into barbaric interlaces, and of figures given a completely non-classical excitedness of movement and gesture. The following pages will attempt to show the extent of barbaric ornamental and stylistic elements in the German Palace, Ada-Godescalc, Trier-Echternach, Salzburg, Fulda, St. Gall, and minor groups of manuscripts, and in the French Fleury, Tours, Reims, Metz, Corbie, and Franco-Saxon groups of manuscripts.[1] Each manuscript group will be considered in terms of its regional setting, background, and patronage, for these factors are often important in explaining the extent of barbaric influence. The antique Mediterranean and Eastern elements will only be dealt with in order to show the proportion of Northern elements.

The major Carolingian manuscript scriptoria of the Rhineland and western Germany were preceded by the Trier-Echternach and Salzburg schools. The work of these earlier schools, which dates from the middle of the eighth century, before the dawn of the Carolingian renaissance, was greatly affected by influences from the British Isles brought in by the missions of St. Boniface and his successors. During the late seventh and eighth centuries these monks had established monastic centers at Trier-Echternach, Salzburg, Reichenau, Würzburg, and Fulda. The monastery of Echternach near Trier was, for example, founded by the Northumbrian Willibord around 698, while Salzburg

[1] See Annex for distribution of barbaric elements by school.

seems to have been under South English or Mercian influence.

The series of manuscripts at Echternach begins with a group of late Merovingian manuscripts which must be examined in order to understand the background of manuscript art of the Rhineland and western Germany during the Carolingian period. The earliest manuscript, the Paris Echternach Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 9389), which dates to the middle of the eighth century, may well be the work of a Northumbrian monk who was resident at Echternach. While the style of this manuscript has a continental Frankish quality which can be seen in the more orderly ornament and composition, the affinities with Northumbria are clear in the ornament, the structure of the initial pages, and the figure work. This manuscript will be examined in greater detail later on in the discussion of Island influences in Carolingian art. It does, however, constitute one of the points of departure for Northumbrian influence on the continent.[1]

The Paris manuscript is followed by the Kesselstadt Gospels (Trier, Domschatz 61(134)),(figs.13,14), which were done at Echternach by a scribe names Thomas around A.D. 775. While this work too was created before the Carolingian renaissance, it must be considered because of its blending of Island, Merovingian, and Eastern elements. Its affinities with the Echternach Gospels and the Northumbrian school are revealed by

[1]Goldschmidt, I,p.30, pl. III.; Zimmermann, pp. 122ff. pp. 276 ff, pl. 255-8, 260-1.;Kendrick, pp. 139 ff, p. 149.

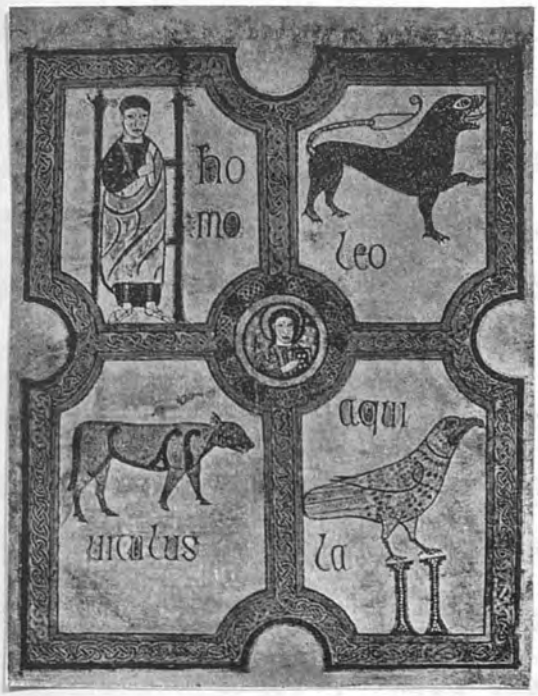


Fig. 13 Page from the Kesselstadt Gospels.

Fig. 14 Initial from the Kesselstadt Gospels.

its Evangelist symbols and by barbaric elements such as interlace borders (fol. 1v, 51 (pl. L a-b); interlace knotwork (fol. 18, 51, 9 (Pl. LXIII b-d), interlace corner knots (fol. 9, 51, (pl. LXXI a-b), interlace terminals (fol. 18 v(pl. LXXV a-b), and initials with zoomorphs (fol. 6 (pl. XCI b). To these one must add zoomorphic terminals (fol. 18r (pl. CIV a), zoomorphic corner and side ornaments (fol. 51, 9 (pl. CXI a-c), zoomorphs (fol. 6 (pl. XCI b-c), and spiral ornaments serving as side decorations on the frames (fol. 51 (pl. CXV a), and as column bases (fol.13 (pl. CXV b-d). The Evangelist medallions of the Canon Tables, the archangels, the cocks, and some of the stylized foliage have a Byzantine source, while the bird and fish initials (pl. XCI a) and the continental uncial script are Merovingian. This manuscript is one of the first products of the synthesis of Island, Byzantine, and Merovingian elements which prepared the way for the Carolingian renaissance.[1]

The Sta. Maria ad Martyres Gospels (Trier, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 23), which is generally assigned to Trier, is dated to the ninth century. Although it has a number of continental elements, its ornament retains a strong Island character which is manifested in simple interlace knotwork (Bd.II, fol. 62-3 (pl.

[1]Goldschmidt, pp. 30-32, pl. 4-8.; Zimmermann, pp. 126 ff. assigns the script and initials to A.D. 770-780. (see pl. 267-279). Also see R. Janitschek and H. Menzel, Die Trier Ada-Handschrift (1899), p. 104. and K.C. Nordenfalk, "On the Age of the Echternach Manuscripts", Acta Archaeologia (1932), III, p. 57. emphasized Irish influence at Trier. He would date the Echternach Gospels to A.D. 700 and the Maihingen Gospels to A.D. 730 to tie them with the Durrow style.

LXIV a-d), interlace terminals (Bd. II, fol 63 (pl.LXXV c-d), a zoomorphic terminal (Bd.II. fol 63 (pl.XCI d), and fretwork motifs (Bd. II, fol 63(pl. CXVI b).[1] The persistence of barbaric elements is further shown by the Tegernsee Gospels (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 19101), which has a ninth century ornamental page with knots of interlace (fol. 16v(pl. LXV a) and bands imitating inset stone work (fol. 16v (pl. XV a).[2] The softening and classiazation of ornament through the introduction of floral elements and a more proportioned symmetrical treatment must have been due to the influence of those Carolingian schools which followed the spirit of the antique revival. The Carolingian manuscripts from Echternach, the Sta. Maria ad Martyres and Tegernsee Gospels, have fewer and fewer Northern elements. In the Tegernsee Gospels, the interlace, which is rendered in a more painterly style, may well be due th the persistence of Island elements, while the imitation of inset stone work probably has its sources in continental metalwork.

The Salzburg school of manuscript illumination began under the influence of South English or Mercian manuscripts.The Cutbercht Gospels (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1224), which date to about A.D. 770-780,[3] were the work of Cutbercht, an Island

[1] Goldschmidt, pp. 8, 32, pl. 9-10.

[2] Goldschmidt, pp. 8, 33, pl. 11b.

[3] Zimmermann, pp. 137 ff, makes the script continental and dates the MS by comparisons with the Trier Gospels and the Stockholm Codex to A.D. 770-780. It must date before A.D. 800.

monk who worked at Salzburg. While the decoration and figure style are already touched by classicizing tendencies, the interlace, zoomorphs with interlacing tails, and inhabited vine scrolls have affinities with Mercia rather than Canterbury and the South.[1] This manuscript is important because it provides another point of departure for Island influence on the continent. The early ninth century Codex millenarius (Kremsmünster, Stiftsbibliothek, CIM I.), which was the first Carolingian work known from Salzburg, shows how the Island elements persisted in isolated German monasteries, while the antique revival style was in full swing at the court. While there are certain parallels in composition and figure style between the Codex millenarius and the Cutbercht Gospels, it is interesting to note that only the interlace motif survives in the ornamental repertory (fol. 17v, 18. (pl. L c).[2] The later S. Johannes Chrysostomus, Homeliae in Matthaeum (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1007),which dates to the early ninth century, illustrates the transformation of Island influence. Although interlace has been replaced by floral motifs, the figure style and the rendering of the ornament can only be explained by the persistence of Island elements.[3] Later manuscripts attributed to Salzburg show how Island elements

[1]Goldschmidt, p. 29, pl. 1.; Zimmermann, pp. 137-140, pl. 297-312.;G.Swarzenski, Die Salzburger Malerei (1913),pp. 1 ff. pl. I-VI.; Kendrick, pp. 143-4.

[2]Goldschmidt, p. 8.29. pl. 2.; Swarzenski, pp. 3 ff. pl. I-IV.; Menzel and Kanitschek, pp. 103 ff.

[3]Goldschmidt, p. 8. p. 33. pl. 12.

were completely displaced by continental Carolingian ones. The sketchy figures in contemporary costume which represent the activities of the months in the Vienna Astronomical Codex (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 387), and the star charts from the Munich Astronomical Codex (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod.lat. 210) have continental prototypes, which in turn go back to late antique models. These Salzburg manuscripts, which date to the first quarter of the ninth century, have no barbaric elements.[1]

While Island elements persisted for a time at Echternach and while they were being transformed and finally displaced at Salzburg, the antique revival style was in full swing at the Palace School of Aix-la-Chapelle. The pages with Evangelists set against landscape or architectural backgrounds in the Gospels of Charlemagne (fig. 15),(Vienna, Schatzkammer), the Aachen Gospels (Aachen, Domschatz), the Xanten Gospels (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 18723), and the Cleve Gospels (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek. lat.theol.fol.260) are largely free from barbaric elements. Only the frames of one or two of the Evangelist pages of the Gospels of Charlemagne (fol. 15 (pl. XV b) and the Aachen Gospels (fol. 13 (pl. XV c) may have a trace of barbarism in their use of cloisonné-like motifs and imitation inset stones,[2] but even these have analogies in Byzantine mosaic borders, such as those at San Vitale of Ravenna and St. Demetrius of Salonika. The rest

[1] Goldschmidt, p.8, pp. 34-5. pl. 13-15.

[2] Goldschmidt, pl. 21-24, Boinet, pl. 58-60b, 70, especially pl. 59a.

Fig. 15 Page from the Gospels of Charlemagne.

Fig. 16 Page from the Gospels of Godescalc.

Fig. 17 Page from the Gospels of Godescalc.

Fig. 18 Page from the Gospels of St.Médard of Soissons.

of the ornament consists of acanthus and vine scrolls derived from antique sources.[1]

The disputed Ada group of manuscripts is often regarded as a continuation of the Palace school, but this seems hardly possible in view of its chronological position. Without going into the controversy which surrounds the localization of the Ada manuscripts, one may assume that they were products of one or a number of indeterminate Rhenish scriptoria, which produced Gospel manuscripts from the end of the eighth century into the early ninth century.[2] The Godescalc Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acquis. 1203), which were made for Charlemagne by a scribe Godescalc, were finished a little after A.D. 781. While the figures of Christ (fig. 16) and the Evangelists seated on cushioned seats, the ornamental baldacchino pavilion (fig. 17), and the details of floral ornament are based on Byzantine prototypes,[3] the rendering of the banded costume, the border interlace (fol. 3(pl. L d, LI a), and the inset stone motifs of the nimbus of Christ (fol. 3, pl. XV d) may be Northern. To these ornamental motifs of the Godescalc Gospels, one must add the geometric motifs of the Evangelist pages(fol. 1v (pl.CXVIII a)

[1]Diehl, fig. 102, 91.

[2]For details of the controversy over the Ada school: Goldschmidt, pp. 9 ff.; Leprieur, pp. 336 ff;; Menzel & Janitschek pp. 85 ff.; W. Köhler,"Tradition der Adagruppe", Festschrift zum 60 Geburtstag von Paul Clemen (1926), pp. 255 ff.

[3]Dalton, p. 283, fig. 175. An exact analogy for the enthroned Christ is offered by a Christ depicted in a painting in the Monastery of St. Jeremais at Saqqara.

and the pelta motif (fol. 3 (pl. CXVIII b) which probably have non-Germanic antecedents.[1]

Northern elements are more predominant in the St.Martin aus-Champs Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Cod. 599), which has initials with zoomorphic (fol. 16, 9 (pl. CIV b-c) and interlace (fol. 61,16 (pl. LXXVI a-c), interlace knotwork (fol. 61 (pl. LXV b), and panels of interlace (fol. 16 (Pl. LI b). The borders have interlace knotwork (fol. 8 (pl. LXV c), fretwork motifs (fol. 61 (pl. CXVI c), and imitations of inset stone work (fol. 16, 8 (pl. XVI a-b). The geometric motifs of this Gospel include squares with rectilinear designs (fol. 61,(pl. CXVIII c-d) and simple fretwork motifs(fol. 61 (pl.CXVI c). While the former have Island analogies, the latter can be derived from continental as well as Island sources.[2] The typical Ada initial with medallions (fol. 18 (pl. LXXVII a) and interlace panels (fol. 18 (pl. LI c), which is often set under an arcade similar to those of the Evangelist pages, occurs in the St. Riquier Gospels (Abbeville, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS. 4) and the Harleian Gospels (London, British Museum, Harl. 2788). The St. Riquier Gospels, which are connected with Angilbert, Abbot of St. Riquier (A.D. 790-814), have interesting terminal interlace (fol.18, 102 (pl. LXXVI d, LXXVII b) and pelta ornament (fol. 17v). The manuscript of the Harleian Gospels,

[1] Goldschmidt, pp. 39 ff, pl. 25-28. Boinet, pl. 3-4.

[2] Goldschmidt p. 41. pl. 30. Boinet, pl. 11.

[3] Goldschmidt, pp. 45 ff. pl. 42-44. Boinet,pl. 7a,9.

which is assigned to the middle period of the Ada school, has interlace which is becoming somewhat simplified and in some cases is acquiring floral ends (fol. 162, pl. LI d). This includes interlace knotwork (fol.162, (pl.LXV d), interlace terminals (fol 109 (pl. LXXVII c), and interlace terminals with zoomorphic finials (fol. 109 (pl. CIV d). Another barbaric element is an inset stone motif (fol 7 (pl. XVI c).[1]

The St. Médard of Soissons Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8850), a gift of Louis the Fair and his wife, perhaps during their visit of A.D. 827, show interlace (fol. 124, 181 (pl. LII a-b) restricted to the body of the initials. The pelta motif of these Gospels (fol. 7) is like that of the Godescalc Gospels, while the fretwork is an elaboration of the type found in the Gospels of St. Martin-aux-Champs. The use of enamel-cloisonné-like motifs, and patterns imitating inset stones was continued for the borders of the Canon Tables and the arcades of the Evangelist pages (fig. 18).[2] The St. Denis Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat 9387)[3] and the Psalter of Charlemagne (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, 1861),[4] which are closely related in style to the Godescalc Gospels, retain the use of interlace

[1] Goldschmidt, pp. 43-4, pl. 35-37. Boinet, pl. 12-14. Boinet dates the Harleian Gospels to the first quarter of the ninth century.

[2] Goldschmidt, pp. 41-43, pl. 31-34. Boinet,pl.18-23.

[3] Boinet, pl. 5.

[4] Boinet, pl. 6. Leprieur, pp. 338 ff. regards the Psalter of Charlemagne as the work of Dagulf, which was given by Charlemagne to Pope Hadrian (772-795).

terminals (fol 18 (pl. LXXVII d) and interlace borders (fol.2r (pl. LII c-d) respectively. Both manuscripts have the typical pelta motif. The increasing floralization of interlace initials (fol. 19 (pl. LXXVIII a) is further illustrated by the Gospels of Lorsch (Karlsburg, Batthyany Library). This manuscript also has geometric square designs (fol. 36 (pl. CXIX b), pelta motifs, and other motifs characteristic of the Ada group.[1]

Zoomorphic elements play a minor role in the ornament of the Ada group. Aside from the minor use of animal heads to ornament interlace terminals of the St. Martin-aus-Champs and the Harleian Gospels, major zoomorphic ornamental forms occur on an initial from the early ninth century Gospels of St. Martin in Maniz (Gotha, Landesbibliothek, Cod. I, 21). The initial J (fol. 126) has elaborately developed zoomorphs (pl. CV a,XCII a-d), which must have been inspired by Island prototypes.[2] The interlace, zoomorphs, and imitation inset stone work of the Ada manuscripts have an essentially Northern or barbaric origin. The zig-zags, meanders, and bands of cubes have analogies with motifs found in ancient mosaics, while the fleur-de-lys,plant stems and stalks, acanthus and palmette, and ivy leaves have obvious antique and Eastern sources. The Christian East must have provided models for the Canon Tables with their deformed corinthianesque capitals, viened marble columns, and cone, bulb,

[1]Goldschmidt, pp. 44-5, pl. 38-41, Boinet, pl. 15-17.

[2]Goldschmidt, pp. 46-47, pl. 48.

or stepped bases. The pelta ornament, which occurs in the decoration of so many of the Ada manuscripts, must be derived from antique sources.[1] The Northern elements, which were always limited in number in comparison with antique and Eastern motifs, were submerged or transformed with the passage of time.

At the abbey of Fulda, which was established by the English saint, Boniface, there must have been a scriptorium working under the influence of Anglo-Saxon styles. Unfortunately, the early manuscripts are lost, though survivals of the Island manner are found in the first known manuscripts from Fulda. The Ingolstadt Gospels (Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 29), which date to the early ninth century, may well have been made under Abbot Hrbanus Maurus (A.D. 822-842). This pupil of Alcuin could have brought the Ada style to Fulda, where it was grafted on to a surviving Anglo-Saxon style. This is illustrated by an initial(fig. 19) from the Ingolstadt Gospels (fol. 15) which consists of interlace (pl. LIII a), fretwork panels(pl. CXVI d), and interlace terminals with animal and floral ends (pl. CV b). The medallions of the initials are like those of the Ada group.[2] The later Hrbanus Maurus MSS of Vienna (Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 652) and the Vatican(Reg.lat. 124) have dedication pages rendered

[1] Clapham, I, pp. 66-67, pl. 26, The pelta motif of the Breedon-on-the-Hill friezes is accounted for in terms of Carolingian influences on the art of the British Isles.

[2] Goldschmidt,p. 52,pl. 59. E.H. Zimmermann, "Die Fuldaer Buchmalerei in karolingischer und otonnischer Zeit," Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der K.K. Zentral Kommission zur Erhaltung und Erforschung der Kunst und historischen Denkmale(1910), IV, pp. 81 ff.

in a decidedly antique manner, completely free from barbaric elements. The same is true of the mid-ninth century Vatican Agrimensoria MS (Pal.lat. 1564) and the Gospels of St. Gumbert of Ansbach (Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 141) and the Würzburg Gospels (Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothel, Mp.theol. fol. 66), a manuscript of the third quarter of the ninth century. Their Evangelist pages are still based upon the Ada type. The manuscripts of Fulda even more than those of the Ada group illustrate the complete displacement of barbaric elements, which had taken place by the mid-ninth century.

The great manuscript school of St. Gall grew up in a monastery founded by the Irish. The first manuscripts were supposedly either brought by Island monks or were executed by Island monks working at St. Gall. Manuscripts in the Irish style include two codices and seventeen illuminated pages.[1] Their ornament and the crudeness of the figure work are typical of Irish style and comparable to the ninth century and later manuscripts executed in Ireland. The characteristic ornament is exhibited by the cruciform page from St. Gall (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod, 1395, pag. 422), which may be regarded as an Irish product or the work of an Irish monk working at St. Gall.[2] Its fretwork and interlace borders, interlace knot-work, and intertwining birds and serpentine monsters have

[1] Clark, pp. 126-127.

[2] Goldschmidt, pl. lla.

obvious Island analogies. Unfortunately this manuscript and Irish manuscripts at St. Gall, such as the St. Gall Gospels (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 51), the St. John Gospels (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, No. 60), and the Priscian Grammar (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, No. 904), date to the late eighth and early ninth centuries, to the period of Benedictine rule.[1]

Under the Benedictines of the late Merovingian period (A.D. 720-841), the manuscript art of St. Gall was under the influence of Frankish and Italian schools. Although there were Island Irish models, they seem to have exercised little influence, for Merovingian continental styles dominated the scriptorium of St. Gall.[2] This can be seen in the eighth century Isidore MS. (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, No. 225) with its fish initials and crude zoomorphic ornament. This crude Merovingian style lingered on at St. Gall until the mid-ninth century.[3]

In 841 Grimald, pupil of Alcuin, abbot of Tours, and friend of Louis the German, became abbot of St.Gall. Grimald's abbacy made St. Gall an active center within the Carolingian artistic realm. Influences from the antique revival style poured in, first from Reims, later from Metz and Tours, and finally from Corbie.[4] The first phase of Carolingian influence at St.

[1] Zimmermann, pl. 185-190,191a,192a-b,193,208a-b,209.

[2] Zimmermann, pp. 22 ff.

[3] Clark, pp. 131-134.

[4] Clark, pp. 134 ff, 137 ff. F. Landsberger, Der St. Galler Folchart Psalter (1912), pp. 34 ff.

Gall is illustrated by the Wolfcoz manuscript group, which is named for the scribe Wolfcoz, who painted a Psalter and Gospel at St. Gall around 845. The Wolfcoz Psalter (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 20) shows the first impact of Carolingian influence, for its interlace initials with animal-head ends are beginning to foliate (pl. CV c)(fig. 20). Thismmanuscript, which is intermediate between the Merovingian and full Carolingian phases at St. Gall, shows that non-Irish Island elements, which had reached St. Gall, nevertheless persisted into the second quarter of the ninth century.[1] The survival is illustrated by an interlace terminal (pl. LXXVIII b) from the Wolfcoz Psalter[2] and related interlace terminals, occasionally with zoomorphic ends, which occur in manuscripts such as Codex 367 (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek)(pl.CV d) and the Oxford Sacramentary (Oxford, Bodleian, D.I.20),(pl.LXXVIII c).[3] It is interesting to note that even Merovingian elements, such as the fish initial, occur in manuscripts like the St. Gall Sacramentary (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1815), which is dated to about 850.[4]

The second phase of Carolingian manuscript art at St. Gall is named after the scribe Folchardus. The Folchard

[1] A.Merton, Die Buchmalerei in St. Gallen vom neunten bis zum elften Jahrhundert (1923), pp. 15 ff. pl. III-IV. Picton, pl. LXII i.

[2] Merton, pl. IV 2.

[3] Merton, pl. VIII, XIV, XV.

[4] Picton, p. 90, pl. LXIII 3. Merton, pl. XII.

Fig. 19 Initial from the Ingolstadt Gospels.

Fig. 20 Initial from the Wolfcoz Psalter.

Psalter (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod 23), which was made under the Frankish Abbot Grimald (A.D. 841-872), illustrates the complete floralization of interlace which had come about in the third quarter of the ninth century.[1] This may well have been due to the artistic elements which were brought to St. Gall from Tours and especially Metz by Abbot Grimald. This important Psalter, which was probably made during the latter years of the abbacy of Grimald, may date to about A.D. 865 and certainly before A.D. 872. The interlace of the columns of the Canon Tables and of the ornamental initial pages is characterized by the elaborate use of floral ends (fol. 31 (pl. LXXIX a, fig. 21).[2] Although a Keltic spiral motif survives in one of the capitals of an arcaded page,[3] most of the ornament is of a floral type derived from classical sources. The floralization becomes excessive,for some of the initials have lost their original interlace form in the process of conversion into exotic floral devices (fol. 315 (pl. LXXIX b).[4] Though the Island animal head ends survive, the old Island color, the Keltic green, is replaced by Carolingian gold and purple. Other manuscripts of the Folchard group place equal emphasis on the transformation and floralization of

[1]Goldschmidt, pl. 70 b,71. Boinet, pl. 141-143. Menzel and Janitschek, pp. 106-7. Merton, pp. 33 ff, pl.XXI-XXVI. Landsberger, pp. 14 ff, pl. I-V.

[2]Picton, pl. LXIII 1. Boinet, pl. 142 b.

[3]Goldschmidt, pl. 71 a.

[4]Goldschmidt, pl. 70 b.

Fig. 21 Page from the Folchard Psalter.

Fig. 22 Page from the Psalterium aureum.

interlace. This can be seen in the knotwork (pl. LXXIX c) of Codex 77 (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek)[1] and in the interlace terminal (pl. LXXVIII d) of the Codex 37 (Geneva, Universitäts-bibliothek).[2] The Folchard style is further illustrated by Codex 83 (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek), the Psalter of the Stift Gottweig bei St. Polten, and the Zürich Lectionary (Zürich, Stadtbibliothek).[3]

The final stage of the floralization of interlace is shown by the manuscripts of the Sintram group. The Psalterium aureum (St.Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 22),[4] which was begun under Abbot Hartmut (A.D. 872-883) and finished under Abbot Salomo(A.D. 890-920), has an initial ornament which continues the tendencies manifest in the Folchard Psalter, becoming even more floral. The extent of the floralization by the end of the ninth century at St. Gall can be shown by contrasting the Beatus vir page of the Folchard Psalter (fig. 21)[5]with that of the Psalterium aureum (fig. 22)(pag 17(pl.LXXIX d).[6] The older

[1]Merton, pl. XVII 2

[2]Merton, pl. XVIII.

[3]Merton, p. 28, pl. XVI, pl. XX, pl. XXVII,

[4]Goldschmidt, pl. 67, 68a, 69, 70a.; Boinet, pl. 144-146. Picton, pl. LXIII a. ; Merton, pp. 38 ff, pl. XXVIII-XXXII.; R. Rahn, Das Psalterium aureum von St. Gallen (1878).

[5]Picton, pl. LXIII 2.

[6]Goldschmidt, pl. 70 a.

Island interlace, such as that of the corner knot(fol. 17 (pl. LXXI c), has been completely transformed into an intertwined floral ornament. This same tendency is illustrated by the painterly fretwork of fol. 17 (pl. CXIX c). The miniature style, as illustrated by the Samuel and David page of the Psalterium aureum, may have been inspired by the school of Corbie. The Evangelium longum (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 14), shows the complete triumph of floral ornament over barbaric interlace (fol. 5 (pl. LXXX a) by the beginning of the tenth century. An initial of this manuscript, which must be placed between the older and later parts of the Psalterium aureum, illustrates the extent of floralization. Other manuscripts of the Sintram group include the Einsiedeln Gospels (Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, No. 17), the Munich Gospels (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, CIM. 22311) the Zürich Gospels (Zürich, Stadtbibliothek, MSC. 12), and the Gundis codex (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 54).[1] All have an excessively floralized interlace and ornament. Although this last phase of the Carolingian style lingered into Ottonian times, there was a general decline in miniature work at St. Gall after A.D. 920.

Away from the major manuscript schools of the Palace, the Ada group, Fulda, and St. Gall, there were minor scriptoria in the Rhineland, Bavaria, and northwest Germany. which carried on the styles and ornament of the antique revival, as well as

[1] Merton, pp. 45 ff, pl. XXXIII, XXXVII, XLIII, XLIV-XLV.

the surviving Northern art, well into the Ottonian period. Rhenish manuscripts like the Pauli epistolae (Düsseldorf, Landesbibliothek, A 44), the Rome Martyrology (Vatican, Pal. lat. 834), and the Verdun Sacramentary (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod.lat. 10077) which were written during the late ninth, tenth, and even eleventh centuries, illustrates the persistence of Carolingian pictorial elements. On the other hand, the Köln Gospels (Cologne, Dombibliothek, Cod. 14), which may have been illuminated at Cologne, have initials with interlace terminals with birds' heads (fol. 161v (pl. CVI a), border interlace (fol. 161v (pl. LIII b-c), and plain interlace terminals (fol. 161v (pl. LXXX b-c).[1] This same type of interlace initial can be seen in the south German Schäftlarn Gospels (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod.lat. 17011),[2] which may have been illuminated at Freising (?) under the patronage of Bishop Anno (A.D. 854-875),(fol. 116v (pl. CVI b) and in the Gospels of the Presbyter Samuel (Two MSS. Quedlinburg, Stiftskirche Schatzkammer and Maihingen, The Öttingen-Wallerstein Collection).[3] which were made in northwest Germany in the middle ninth century (fol. 9 (pl. CVI c). Other south German manuscripts, such as the Weltenburg Gospels (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1234), the Alemannic Innichen Gospels (Innsbrück, Universitäts-bibliothek, Cod. 484), the Weissenburg Gospels (Vienna, National-bibliothek, Cod. 2687), the Psalter of Ludwig the German (Berlin,

[1] Goldschmidt, pl. 88,61,83b. Köln Gospels, pl. 49.

[2] Goldschmidt, pl. 50

[3] Goldschmidt, pl. 65-66.

Staatsbibliothek, theol,lat,fol.58), and the Reichenau Sacramentary (Leipzig, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. CXC), which date mostly after the middle of the ninth century, have few barbaric elements, though they carry forward Carolingian figure styles. The fluttering drapery of the Weltenburg Gospels, the spiralesque drapery of the Evangelist of the Innichen Gospels, and the contemporary costume of the figure on the Crucifixion page of the Weissenburg Gospels might, however, be regarded as products of a vague and somewhat indefinable barbaric influence.[1] Northwest German manuscripts, such as the tenth century Abdinghof Gospels (Kessel, Landesbibliothek, Cod.theol.fol. 60) and the Wolfenbüttel Gospels (Wolfenbüttel, Landesbibliothek, Aug. 2187, likewise show little barbaric influence.[2] The late survival of Carolingian pictorial, if not ornamental elements, was due to the cultural progress of the monasteries founded by the monks in the wake of the Drang nach Osten. The climax of this development can be seen in the brilliant Ottonian art of Hildesheim.

The manuscript schools exhibit a decreasing interest in Northern or barbaric elements as one moves westward from the Rhineland through the Paris basin to Tours on the Loire. While the Franco-Saxon school of Northeast France, and the school of Corbie,which is traditionally attributed to the abbey of Corbie near Amiens, retain strong Northern features, these become of decreasing importance at Reims, Metz, and Tours. It is significant

[1] Goldschmidt, pl. 51, 52, 62, 63, 84.

[2] Goldschmidt, pl. 81-82, 85-86.

to note that the first two schools were located in lands occupied by the Salian Franks, while the last three grew up in areas which must have retained a relatively undisturbed Romance people, stemming from a Gallo-Roman population.

The Franco-Saxon school may well have been the creation of perhaps a number of ateliers extending from the Seine through northeastern France to the lower Rhine.[1] This school, which has many elements traceable to the art of the British Isles, reached its apogee in the mid-ninth century and lasted on through the tenth and eleventh centuries, when it influenced the manuscript art of the British Isles.[2] While its figure work is influenced by the schools of Reims and Tours, its ornament is a synthesis of Oriental, antique, and Christian elements under strong Island influence, which manifests in the use of bands of interlace, knotwork, and interlace terminals with animal and bird head finials.[3]

The so-called Second Bible of Charles the Bald (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2), which provides a good point of departure for an analysis of the Franco-Saxon school, exhibits many of the features characteristic of this group of manuscripts, such as the elaborate use of interlace and zoomorphs for the

[1] Menzel and Janitschek, pp. 95 ff., would assign the Franco-Saxon school to St. Denis because it was apparently the home of the typical Second Bible of Charles the Bald. Hinks, pp. 202-203, would assign it perhaps to St. Vaast at Arras on the basis of the Gospels of St. Vaast.

[2] Brøndsted, pp. 250 ff

[3] Leprieur, pp. 366 ff.

decoration of initials and ornamental pages. It is dated by the dedication, which refers to the death of the son of Charles the Bald, indicating it must date after A.D. 865. The manuscript is filled with interlacing (fol. 11, 352v, 80, 146 (pl. LIII d) (pl. LIV a-b) and zoomorphic ornament. The Canon Tables have zoomorphic column bases, and horseshoe arches which spring from animal-headed capitals (fol. 352v (pl. XCIII b), while initial terminals (fol. 68, 11, 80, 234, 146 (pl. LXXX d,LXXXI a,CVI d, CVII a-c) occur with and without zoomorphic terminals. There are circular medallions with stylized animals (fol. 352v, 80 (pl. XCIII a,d) and enrolled zoomorphs (fol. 68 (pl. XCIII c),as well as an occasional interlace knotwork device (fol. 68 (pl. LXVI b).[1] Although there is a stronger floral element in the later-ninth century Gospels of Francis II (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat, 257), interlace (fol. 12 (pl. LV c) and zoomorphs continue in strength, used for columns, arch terminals, initial terminals (fol. 147 (pl. CVII d),capitals, and corner ornaments (fol. 12 (pl. CXI d). One of the Canon Tables has capitals consisting of birds whose long beaks extend upwards to cross in triangular-headed arcades or arches (fol. 10 (pl. XCIV c, see also pl. XCIV a-b). [2] The same Northern elements may be seen in the Gospels of St. Vaast (Arras, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS. 1045). There are panels of complex interlacing (fol. 8, 43, 56, 50, 28v (pl. LIV c-d, LV a-b), interlace knotwork (fol. 8, 56, 34,

[1] Boinet, pl. 100-102.

[2] Boinet, pl. 97-99.

54 (pl. LXVI c-d, LXVII a-d), and interlace terminals (fol. 8 (pl. LXXXI b-c). Zoomorphs include terminal designs (fol. 43, 8, 50 (pl. CVIII a-c) and motifs like those of the Gospels of Francis II (see pl. XCIV a-b).

The use of floral terminals for interlace constitutes the beginning of a later and more painterly style. The ornament is becoming more open and loose in structure.[1] This tendency is manifest in the zoomorphic terminal (fol. 13 (pl. CVIII d) and the interlace (fol. 12 13v (pl. LV d) of the Sacramentary of St. Thierry (Reims, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 213); in the interlace terminal (fol. 15 (pl. LXXXII b) of the Gospels of Leyden (Leyden, University Library, MS. 58). in the interlace (fol. 20 (pl. LVI a) of the Sacramentary of St. Denis (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2290); in the interlace terminal (fol. 8 (pl. LXXXI d) of the Sacramentary of Le Mans (Le Mans, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 77); and in the zoomorphic terminal (fol. 63 (pl. CIX d) of the Egerton Gospels (London, British Museum, Egert. 768). The Egerton Gospels also have markedly floralized interlace (fol. 2 (pl.LVI b) and plain interlace terminals (fol. 63 (pl. LXXXII a). The later phase of the Franco-Saxon style is further illustrated by the interlace (pl. LVI c) of the Cologne Gospels (Cologne, Museum of Decorative Arts) and by panels of interlace (pl. LVI d) and the zoomorphic terminal(pl. CX a) of the Egmond Gospels (Hague, Royal Library, AA 260).

[1] Boinet, pl. 93-96. Hinks, op. cit.

These manuscripts are transitional in style between the Gospels of Francis II and the Psalter of Louis the German (Berlin, Btaatsbibliothek, Lat,theol.fol. 58), which has painterly zoomorphic initials (fol. 3, 83 (pl. CIX a-b), and the Wolfenbüttel Psalter (Wolfenbüttel, Landesbibliothek, Aug. 17), which has sketchy zoomorphic terminals (fol. 52 (pl. CIX c) and an interesting corner knot (fol. 2 (pl. LXXI d). The Berlin and Wolfenbüttel manuscripts have a more chaotic and painterly style of ornament which sets them apart from the rest of the works of this school. The interlace, which is closely packed and sometimes even sketchy is accompanied by borders with cloisonné-like and scroll motifs. These two manuscripts are usually attributed to the third quarter of the ninth century because of their historic connections; on stylistic grounds they must represent a phase anterior to the Second Bible of Charles the Bald and the Gospels of Francis II.[1] To these two manuscripts one must add the Echternach Sacramentary (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat 9433) whose incoherent style illustrates the final degeneration of the Franco-Saxon school at the end of the ninth century.[2]

[1] Boinet, pl. 103-110.

[2] K.C. Nordenfalk, "Ein karolingisches Sakramentar aus Echternach und seine Vorläufer", Acta Archaeologia (1931), II pp. 207 ff, has made an extensive analysis of the stylistic development of the ornament of the Franco-Saxon series of manuscripts. He shows how the ornament proceded from the closed,static style of the Second Bible of Charles the Bald to the chaotic, dynamic, painterly, open style of the Psalter of Louis the German, the Wolfenbüttel Psalter, and the Echternach Sacramentary,Leprieur

The school of Corbie, which has been attributed to St. Denis by B. Friend, has few barbaric elements. This school, which is admittedly difficult to localize, has been traditionally attributed to the abbey of Corbie near Amiens mainly on the basis of the Sacramentary of Corbie, which was executed by Rodrade of Corbie after his ordination in A.D. 853. In any case, Corbie seems to have replaced Tours as a center of royal patronage after the middle of the ninth century, which would account for its magnificent manuscripts.[1] The use of ornamental elements derived from Northern sources is limited in the Psalter of Charles the Bald (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1152),which can offer only miniature frames with imitation inset stones (fol. 4v (pl. XVI d) and granulation.[2] In the Codex aureus of St.Emmeran (Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod.lat.14000), one finds in the elaborate dedication page, the representations of Christ in Magesti, the Apocalypse, the Evangelist pages, and the Canon Tables little that is barbaric. The excessive ornamentation, which may reflect the underlying barbaric spirit of the Caroling-

pp. 367 ff lists in addition to these manuscripts a minor group of Franco-Saxon manuscripts. The key one is the Psalter of Lotheir (London, British Museum, Add. 37768), which is dated to the end of the ninth century, It is usually assigned to a Franco-Saxon monastery scriptorium working in the Ada tradition. It has few barbaric elements,aside from initial interlace. Other Franco-Saxon manuscripts tend to follow this same style: the Morienval Gospels(Noyon Cathedral), the Gospels of St.Frambourg de Senlis (Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, MS 1190), and the Cologne Gospels (Cologne, Dombibliothek, MS 56). Some would assign them to the school of Metz, along with the Gospels of Gandesheim.

[1] Friend, pp. 56 ff. Leprieur, pp. 370 ff.

[2] Boinet, pl. 113-114.

ian artistry consists of foliage, scroll, shell, and key (pl. CXIX d) patterns. The initial pages (fig. 23), however, retain interlace ornament, but it is smothered in floral devices (fol.17 (pl. LXXXII c).[1] The same type of floralized interlace initials can be seen in the Bible of San Callisto (Rome, St. Paul-without-the-Walls)(fol. 21v (pl. CX b), which has animal-head ends of the most rudimentary type, and in the Sacramentary of Metz (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat 1141).(fol.4 (pl. LXXXII d),[2] which also has borders with imitation inset-stone work.[3] Typical Corbie interlace initials also occur in the Gospels of St. Aure (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 1171)(fol. (pl.LXXXIII a), and in the Gospels of Colbert (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat 324)(fol. 13 (pl. LXXXIII b).To these one can add the interlace initials from the Claude Fauchet Gospels (fol.2 (pl.LXXXIII c) and the Nonantola Sacramentary(pl.LXXXIII d), and the interlace terminal(fol. 20v (pl. LXXXIV a), the zoomorphic interlace terminal (fol 20 (pl. CX c), and corner interlace knot (fol. 23 (pl. LXXII a) of the Rodrade Sacramentary(All Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat 270, 2292, 12050).[4]

[1] Boinet, pl. 115-120.

[2] Friend, pp. 59-70 regards the Sacramentary of Metz as a product of the monastery of St. Denis. It would have been made under the patronage of Charles the Bald to commemorate his coronation at Metz and therefore must date to 869-870. This conclusion is based upon the style of the ornament and the iconography of the crucifixion page.

[3] Boinet, pl. 131-134a.

[4] Boinet, pl. 137-138,139,134, 138 c-d. 140.

The schools of Metz and Reims, whose ateliers lay south of the Franco-Saxon centers and the abbey of Corbie, have few if any Northern or barbaric elements. The school of Reims, of whose beginnings we unfortunately know little, may be dated back to the time of Charlemagne, to judge from records of the now destroyed Godelgaud Sacramentary of A.D. 798-800. This school has been localized on the basis of the Epernay Gospels, which have a dedication indicating that they were made under the patronage of Ebon, Bishop of Reims (A.D. 816-835) by Abbé Pierre at the monastery of Hautvillers near Reims. Many believe that the school was established by Bishop Ebon, who had been Imperial librarian at Aix-la-Chapelle. He would have brought the Palace style, which would have served as a point of departure for the Reims style. The simple ornament of this school, which has a realistic though somewhat sketchy figure style, is derived from antique and Eastern sources. There are no barbaric elements in manuscripts like the Epernay Gospels, (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Epernay, 1722), which has figure work foreshadowing that of the Utrecht Psalter, though some miniatures, such as those of the Evangelists (fig. 24), still follow the style of the Palace school.[1] Its style is carried forward by the Cleve Gospels (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, lat.theol.fol. 260), which date to the second quarter of the ninth century, and by the mid-ninth century manuscripts, such as the Loisel and Blois Gospels(Paris,

[1]Leprieur, pp. 360 ff. Boinet, pl. 66-69.

Fig. 23 Initial from the Codex aureus of St.Emmeran.

Fig. 24 Page from the Epernay Gospels.

Fig. 25 Page from the Utrecht Psalter

Bibliotheque Nationale, lat. 17968 and 265) and the Harleian Gospels (London, British Museum, Harl. 2797 amd 2826).[1] The Utrecht Psalter (fig. 25)(Utrecht, University Library, MS.32), which is the masterpiece of the Reims school, has no obvious barbaric elements, although the tempo of the rapid sketchy style has sometimes been ascribed to Northern influence.[2]

The manuscripts of Metz have been localized through the Drogo Sacramentary, which was executed at the cathedral of Metz under Drogo, who was Bishop from 826 to 855. These manuscripts, which have columned and entablatured Canon Tables derived from Reims, have a realistic ornament with a heavier foliage treatment. Manuscripts like the Drogo Sacramentary, the Gospels of Metz, and the Gospels of Louis the Fair (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 9428, 9383, 9388) have no barbaric elements. It is only interesting to note in passing that their foliated capitals enclose small scenes rendered with a dramatic realism foreshadowing the scenic initial of Romanesque and Gothic times. The schools of Metz and Reims, which grew up in an area free of Frankish settlement, preferred a Mediterranean Ornament.[3]

[1] Boinet, pl. 70-74. The same is true of the Gospels of St. Thierry(Reims, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 7),the Psalter of Henry the Liberal(Troyes Cathedral), and the Douce Psalter (Oxford, Bodelian Library, Douce, 59). Boinet,pl.75-78.

[2] E.T.De Wald, The Utrecht Psalter(1933). ;W.de G. Birch, The History,Art, and Palaeography of the Manuscript styled the Utrecht Psalter(1876). Hinks, pp. 115 ff, pp. 193-4.

[3] Leprieur, pp. 364 ff.

The preference for a non-barbaric ornamentation is further illustrated by the manuscript school which grew up in the monastery of St. Martin and the adjacent convent of Marmoutier at Tours. This school on the banks of the Loire in the heart of old Gallo-Roman territory was a major center during the Carolingian renaissance. Fortunately the work of Tours, which was so important for the invention of the semi-uncial script and the standardization of texts, can be traced from the late eighth century. The late Merovingian phase of Tours is illustrated by the De officiis Cicero MS (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6347) and the Sacramentarium Gregorianum (Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale. MS. 164), whose ornament is restricted to embellished initials of continental type.

The Carolingian era at Tours began with the abbacy of Alcuin, the Anglian abbot of St. Martins (A.D. 796 - 804). Although Alcuin was of Anglo-Saxon origin and had previously been associated with the Palace school, his abbacy did not bring a drastic stylistic change. The Island motif of the bird with enrolled neck occurs in the St. Gall Bible (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 75)(fol. 691 (like pl. XCIV a), the Paris Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 260), and the Gospels of the British Museum, British Museum, Harl. 2790). Strong Merovingian elements survive in the initials of the London Psalter (London, British Museum, Harl. 2793), the Adalbald Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. 17227), and the

Ghent Hieronymus MS (Ghent, University Library, MS 102). It may be presumed that the school began with a legacy of Merovingian, Island, and Palace school elements.[1]

Whatever the situation may have been, the influence of the Merovingian past and the Island styles must have been very short-lived or superficial, for the first truly Carolingian manuscripts of the abbacy of Fredegise (A.D. 804-834) have a Mediterranean ornament with only a few minor barbaric elements.[2] The Gospels of St. Gauzelin (Nancy, Cathedral Treasury), which were made during his abbacy, retain only some thin bands of border interlace twist (fol. 111 v (pl. LVII a-b) and simple interlace corner ornaments (fol. 111v (pl. LXXII c) as a legacy of the days of Alcuin.[3] Similar Northern influence may be seen in the Zürich Bible (Zürich, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. I), the Bamberg Bible (Bamberg, Landesbibliothek,AI 5)(fig. 26)(fol.339v (pl. LXXII b), and the Bern Gospels (Bern, Stadtbibliothek,3&4).[4] To these manuscripts one can add the Old Testaments of London and Paris (London, British Museum, Harl. 2805; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 11514&68), the Basel Bible (Basel, Universitäts-bibliothek, A.N.I.3), and the Stuttgart, London, and Morgan Gospels(Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, MS. II. 40.;London,British

[1]W.Köhler, Die karolingischen Miniaturen, Die Schule von Tours (1930), pp. 33 ff. pls.1b;4 a,c,d,e;5 d-f;7d;8b;11 a-h.

[2]Leprieur,pp.346 ff. Köhler, pp.91 ff, E.K.Rand, A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours (1929).

[3]Boinet, pl. 27-28.

[4]Boinet,pl.29;Köhler,pl. 15 c-d;pl. 18 a,f,i.

Museum, add 11848; New York, Morgan Collection, MS. 191), which can only offer the simplest barbaric element, a bit of plain interlace.[1]

In the fourth period at Tours, roughly the decade 840-850, when the school reached its apogee under royal patronage of Louis the Fair, Charles the Bald, and Lothair, it was led by the Abbots Adelard (A.D. 834-843) and Vivian (A.D. 845-851).[2] While the preceding period was marked by an interest in ornament, this age at Tours emphasized the elaboration of pictorial elements, although the ornamentation of Canon Tables, which were increasingly dominated by flora, vases, and Oriental animals and birds, was not neglected. The status of the Northern ornamental motifs is well illustrated by the Lothair Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat 266), which are dated 840-843, and before the Treaty of Verdun in A.D. 843. The animal heads on the Canon Tables have become naturalistic. While the corner interlace knots survive in a few cases (fol. 12 (pl. LXXII d), they have been mostly replaced by floral devices, except in the chapter headings. The bands of interlace for the miniature frames are reduced to thin strip-like motifs (fol. 12 (like pl. LVII a).[3] Manuscripts with related ornament include the Rorigo Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat 3), the Basel Gospels

[1] Köhler, pl. 12,13,14,20,26,27,30.

[2] Köhler, pp. 164 ff.

[3] Boinet, pl. 30-35.

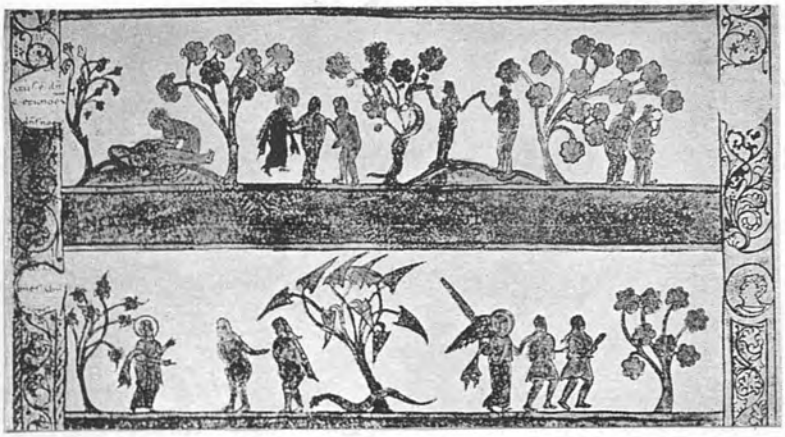


Fig. 26 Page from the Bamberg Bible.

Fig 27 Page from the Etschmiadzin Gospels.

(Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, MS II,11), and the Leningrad Gospels (Leningrad Library, Q.v.I.Nr. 21).[1] The Montier-Grandval Bible (London, British Museum, add, 10546), which was made under Abbot Adelard, has the simplest interlace elements (fol. 3v (pl. LVII c). One initial shows how floral ornament ousted the slim Northern heritage (fol. 3v (pl. LXXXIV b).[2]

Manuscripts of the abbacy of Count Vivian (A.D. 845-851) begin with the Raganaldus Sacramentary (Autun, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS. 19),[3] which still retains the traditional Tours twisted interlace strips (fol. 95 (pl. LVII d), interlace corner knots (fol. 95 (pl. LXXIII a), interlace terminals (fol. 8v (pl. LXXXIV c), and interlace zoomorphic terminals (fol. 8v (pl. CX d).[4] The Gospels of Prüm (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek,lat. theol,fol.730) also have some corner knots (fol. 23v (pl.LXXIII b) and initial interlace (fol. 23v (pl. LXXXIV d).[5] while the first Bible of Charles the Bald (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1) retains some minor corner interlace ornaments (fol. 383 (pl. LXXIII c). The capitals of one of the Canon Tables are wrought

[1] Köhler, pp. 164 ff. pl. 32, 34, 54, 60.

[2] Boinet, pl. 44-46.

[3] Köhler, pl. 62-64. Leprieur, pp. 355 ff, points out that the Raganaldus or Marmoutier Sacramentary of Autun, which was executed for Count Rainaud, who was abbot of Tours between Adelard and Vivian. It has only the slimmest Northern ornamental motifs.

[4] Boinet, pl. 40-43.

[5] Boinet, pl. 36-37.

of interlace.[1] Manuscripts such as the Arithimetica of Boethius (Bamberg, Landesbibliothek, H.J.IV.12) and the Gospels of DuFay (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 9385) reveal the continued use of Tours interlace and corner knots.[2]

After the abbacy of Count Vivian, Tours lost its royal patronage. The manuscripts of the later ninth century, which continued until the school was destroyed by the Normans, reveal a decadent art. While the beautiful script continues, the ornament becomes worse and worse. Tours interlace and interlace corner knots continue in manuscripts like the Beatty Gospels London, Beatty Collection), the Paris Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat 47), the Le Mans Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat 261) and the Tours Sacramentary (Tours, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 184).[3]

It is interesting to note that the Northern elements, which were most popular in the early ninth century and in the schools which grew up in areas of German settlement, as well as the antique revival style of the Carolingian renaissance did not spread to the Midi or Aquitaine, where the Merovingian style, such as that of the Gellone Sacramentary, survived as late as the tenth century. The Carolingian manuscript was a product of the peoples who lived between the Loire and the Rhine.[4]

[1]Boinet, pl. 47-55.

[2]Köhler, pl. 91-2, 109b, 112b.

[3]Köhler, pl. 115, 117, 118, 124.

[4]Bréhier, pp. 160 ff.

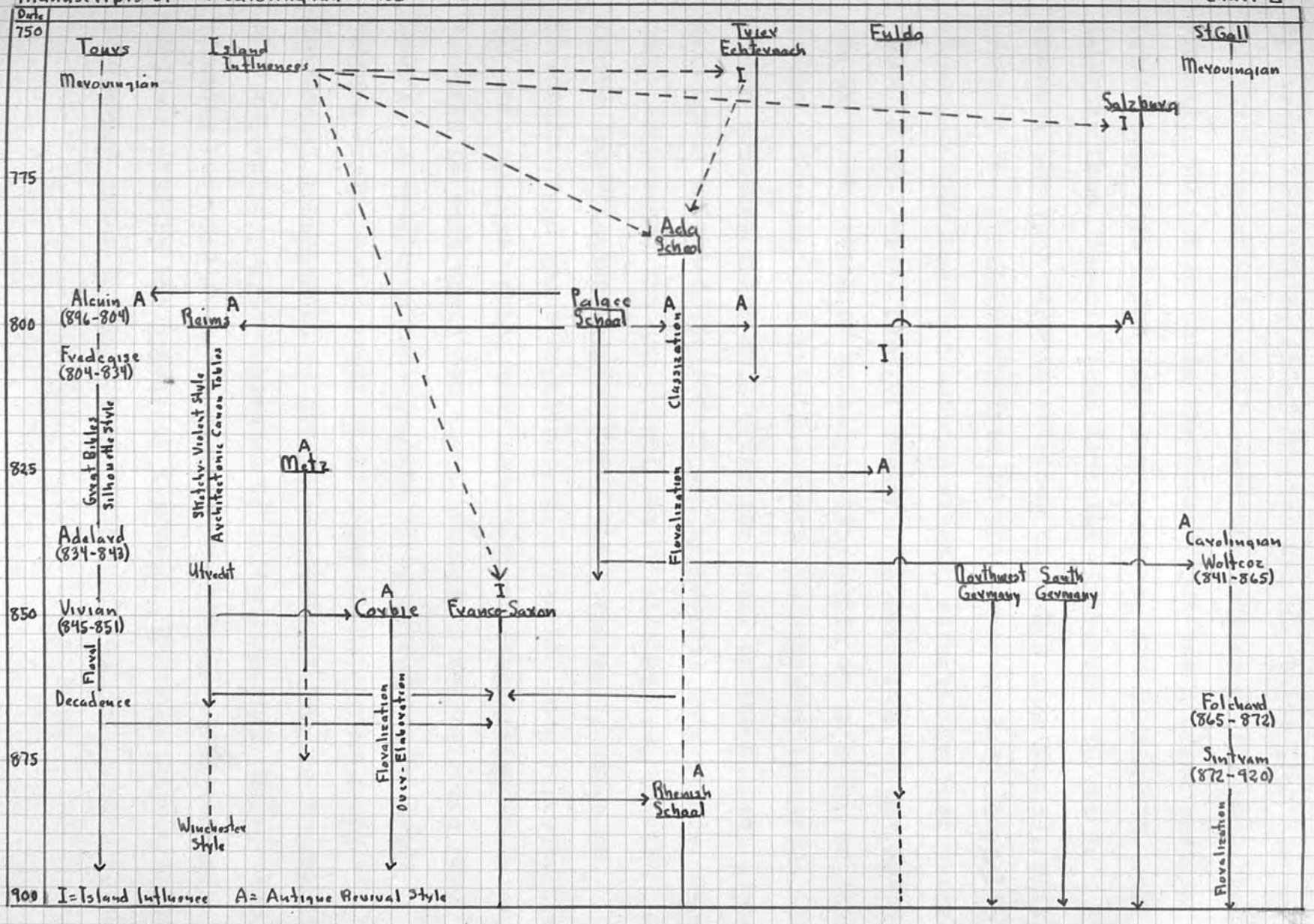
Style and Ornament

A survey of the field of Carolingian ornament tends to show that Northern elements follow certain chronological and geographical patterns. The later eighth century manuscript schools of Trier-Echternach, St. Gall, Salzburg, and presumably Fulda began under strong Island influence. These schools grew up in lands settled by the Germanic peoples, who preferred the abstract ornamental art of the North to the continental style which prevailed to the west at Tours in the heart of the old Gallo-Roman lands. The emergence of the Ada-Godescalc school in the Rhineland, heralding the advent of the Carolingian renaissance, was marked by both Byzantine and Island elements appearing not only in ornament but in the rendering of figural form. The strength of the Northern style in the Germanic portions of the Carolingian realm is further emphasized by the Kremsmünster chalice, the Enger reliquary, and the older Lindau book cover, all of which were made under strong Island influence.

The essential difference in taste between the Romance and Germanic portions of the Carolingian realm may be traced in the stylistic rendering of ornament, even though, paradoxically, the Northern motifs have been partly replaced by Mediterranean ones swept in by the revival style. It will be recalled that with the beginning of the ninth century the revival of antique forms and motifs by the court of Charlemagne spread through the Empire. It transformed the Ada style and swept away the older ornamental styles of Trier-Echternach and Salzburg. In 822, it

Manuscripts of the Carolingian Period

Chart IV



was taken to Fulda by Abbot Hrbanus Maurus, a pupil of Alcuin, and 841 it reached St. Gall under the auspice of the new abbot, Grimald, friend of Louis the German. It was carried west to Tours along with a few Island elements by Alcuin himself, and to Reims by Ebon, who had been Imperial librarian, It was to dominate the work of Metz and that of Corbie (St. Denis), which produced the royal manuscripts of the latter part of the ninth century. Only the Franco-Saxon school, situated in that traditionally provincial area of Western Europe, clung to the Northern abstract system of ornament, preserving it in spite of the Norman conquests well into the tenth and eleventh centuries. The German schools, which fell under the spell of the revival style gave up or modified their Northern ornamental inheritance. Once they had grasped the new principles of composition, plastic figure construction, figure poses and formulae, schemes of proportion, and space organization, which had been borrowed from the late antique world, they modified and transformed these very elements to suit their own aesthetic taste. Not only did they modify the Mediterranean elements taken over from the late antique world, but further transformed their own Northern ornamental inheritance to give it coherence within the framework of a decorative style dominated by antique motifs. While the elements borrowed from the Mediterranean World were modified stylistically by the spirit of the North, Northern elements were transmuted under the impact of Southern forms. The strife between

these two systems of art was resolved in the Carolingian style which blossomed in the middle ninth century.

The manuscripts and metalwork of the latter part of the eighth century reveal an as yet unsynthesized mixture of Island, Merovingian, and East Christian elements destined to be transformed by the impact of the revival style which spread from the court at the beginning of the ninth century. At Trier-Echternach the East Christian influence from the Mediterranean was represented by the Canon Tables, the faunal and floral ornament, and the figure types, while the monastery art of the British Isles lay behind not only the interlace, zoomorphs, and spiral ornament, but also the style of the figure rendering, the occasional initial page arrangement, and the pattern of the rare cruciform pages, although these latter represent simplifications of more complex ornamental Island prototypes. Figure work like that of the Island manuscripts with staring eyes, rope-like hair, and stylized linear drapery, can be seen in the Echternach and Kesselstadt Gospels of the Trier-Echternach school, and the Cutbercht Gospels and the Codex millenarius of the Salzburg school, as well as in the metalwork, the Kremsmünster chalice, the Engler reliquary, and the older Lindau book cover. The use of interlace and zoomorphic ornament was shared not only by the manuscript illuminators of Trier-Echternach, Salzburg, Fulda, and St. Gall, whose ornamental pages also follow Island models, but by the metalworkers who created the Kremsmünster chalice and the older Lindau book cover. This was the ornament and style

current in the Rhineland at the time of the birth of the important Ada-Godescalc school.

The Ada-Godescalc school, which arose in the late eighth century while the school of Tours was still pursuing the continental Merovingian style, was initially a part of this general Rhenish artistic movement. Its enthroned Christ and its Evangelists follow the same figure style, although details of rendering and the iconography indicate a Byzantine prototype. Evidence for Byzantine influence is reinforced by the baldacchino page, which must be compared with that of the Etschmiadzin Gospels (fig. 27).[1] The interlace motifs, zoomorphs, and fretwork of the later Ada manuscripts also have obvious Island analogies. The arrangement of the initial page of the St. Martin-aux-Champs Gospels may be compared with that of the Echternack Gospels and ultimately with those of Lindisfarne and Durrow.[2] The Ada initial has, however, greater solidity and stands within an enclosing frame. By the time of the later Gospels of Lorsch, though the pattern of the initial remains the same, the treatment has become more painterly and chaste. The ornamental transformation is further illustrated by the Q-initial page of the St. Riquier Gospels of Abbeville; the initial has become solid, an architectonic structure set under an architectural arcade.[3] This tendency

[1] Compare Goldschmidt pl. 28 with C. Diehl, Manuel d'art byzantin (1910), fig. 121.

[2] Zimmermann, pl. 257, 239, 242, 160a.

[3] Goldschmidt pl. 41, 44.

towards painterliness and solidity, which must be regarded as a product of the influence of the antique revival style, can also be seen in the early ninth century St. John Chrysostom MS from Salzburg and the Sta. Maria ad Martyres Gospels from Trier-Echternach.

The advent of the style of the Palace school was marked, as has been said, by the disappearance of frankly Northern elements of ornament and figure style as well as ornamental page organization. Between the years 800 and 841, the Northern motifs disappeared at Trier, Fulda, Salzburg, and St. Gall, while the Merovingian style of Tours was displaced by the revival style brought in by Alcuin. Everywhere except in the ateliers of the Franco-Saxon school of northeastern France, the Northern element is restricted to initial pages, while the rest of the manuscript pages are rendered after Mediterranean models. In metalwork this phase is illustrated by the Milan altar antependium and the reliquary of Pepin. While the openly Northern barbaric interlace and zoomorphs of the earlier metalwork have disappeared, the Northern love of linear and material effects is manifest in the rendering of the repoussé figure work and the splendour of the enamel, inset stones, filigree, and gold of the framework of the antependium. The Mediterranean repoussé figure work and cloisonné enamel and the Northern filigree and inset stone work of the Pepin reliquary have not integrated into a uniform style

Once the Carolingian illuminator, ivory carver, and metalworker comprehended the art of the late antique world, which

was in itself a transformation of provincialized antique and Oriental elements dematerialized and metamorphized to suit the taste of the early Church, they in turn transformed it to suit their ornamental taste. Toward the middle of the ninth century, Carolingian artists freed themselves from a too rigid control of late antique models and set about the creation of a Carolingian style. The achievement of the new style was foreshadowed by over-elaboration of initials, frames, borders, and ornamental pages, by the insistence upon linear as opposed to solid classical modelling, and by the use of pattern effects achieved in figural art by rhythm and tecture of composition. The failure of the Carolingian artist to comprehend the space-time unity of antique representations of the real world is obvious in his use of the manuscript page and the ivory surface, not as imaginery space, but as a medium for design and ornamentation. The cut-out work of the ivories, ranging from the frankly barbaric Genoels-Elderen ivory to the mid-ninth century antique Metz ivory (Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, Fonds.lat. 9393), shows this refusal to distinguish ground from pattern. The failure to understand Mediterranean art, or rather, the aesthetic drive towards abstract ornament, led to the reinterpretation not only of the figure style and the ornament, but also of the space composition. While the plain antique background was occasionally used for portraits (Lothair Psalter)[1] and the Alexandrine birds-eye landscape for

[1] Boinet, pl. 79a.

town symbols (San Callisto Bible)[1]; they were rare in Carolingian miniatures. The more common architectural background, which played such a great role in the Ada Evangelist pages, was elaborated into ornament through emphasis on detail. The illuminator never understood its function in the rendering of space. The coulisse landscape, which goes back to late classical art, was used in the Evangelist pages of the Palace school and in the sketchy miniatures of the Utrecht Psalter. Nevertheless it was misunderstood and soon rendered into ornament, for late St. Gall miniatures, like those of the Psalterium aureum, have converted it into a scalloped line. The Carolingian manuscript page was a vehicle for ornament. These tendencies in the full Carolingian style affected not only the motifs and style elements borrowed from the late antique world, but the Northern elements of interlace and an occasional zoomorph, which had survived the impact of the antique revival. The Northern elements were themselves transformed and integrated into the new style. As will be shown, the Northern handling of antique as well as of surviving Northern barbaric motifs was more pronounced in the Germanic than in the Romance portion of the Carolingian realm.

The schools of St. Gall. Cobbie, and the Franco-Saxon region dominate the German area in the later ninth century. At St. Gall the figure style is completely dominated by antique forms. Initial treatment, however, is illustrative of the ornamental

[1]Boinet, pl. 122 a.

transformation which swept through the Germanic portiom of the realm. The initials, which stem ultimately from Island prototypes, have been elaborated into something distinctly continental. This is accomplished through the addition of floral terminals and the regularization of the ornamental plan under the influence of a classicized taste. The Northern element manifests itself in the excessiveness of floralization and general over-elaboration of ornament, which is so well exemplified by the Folchard Psalter, the Psalterium aureum, and the Evangelium longum. This same tendency can be seen in the school of Corbie(or St.Denis). The interlace and flowering vine scrolls of the initial and ornamental pages of the Codex aureus of St. Emmeran and the San Callisto Bible have become a maze of intricate interlocking ornament. The influence of the Northern world can be seen in the rhythmical composition and textural effect of the figure grouping of the elders in the apocalypse scene of the Codex aureus of St. Emmeran. While the Franco-Saxon school escape the full imposition of antique motifs, its interlace and zoomorphis designs, which are far removed from any possible Island model, have undergone the same excessive over-elaboration which ends in a maze of lines and patches of color.

In the middle and late ninth century the western portion of the Carolingian realm was dominated by the manuscript schools of Reims, Metz, and above all Tours. The solidly architectural Canon Tables of the Gospels of Metz and the lattice-work initials

of the Sacramentary of Drogo, which enclose figure subjects, lack the ornamental elaboration of St. Gall and Corbie. The interwoven scrolls of acanthus leaves which decorate the initials retain a balanced symmetrical design which can hardly be called barbaric. At Reims, the Evangelist figures of the Epernay Gospels of Ebon and the excited dramatic sketchy figures of the Utrecht Psalter have been ascribed to Northern influence. Nevertheless the Canon Tables of the Epernay Gospels, the Blois Gospels, and the Loisel Gospels have a solid architectonic aspect which is essentially Mediterranean. This is not to say that the manuscript schools were devoid of imagination and a love of fantasy they merely kept it under control of a more realistic view of the world. At Tours this balance of fantasy and realism is well illustrated by the rendering of the ornament. The Northern interlace and knot work which survives into the lastest period at Tours is always kept within reason. It always forms an integral part of a solid border, architectural framework, or a clearly understood initial..It is never allowed to spread itself out over the page to dominate the whole of the miniature or illumination. This can be seen in the early Gospels of St. Gauzelin, which were made in the second quarter of the ninth century under Abbot Fredegise, or the Gospels of Lothair of the abbacy of Adelard, in which the earlier silhouette miniatures are replaced by the beautifully rendered figure work foreshadowing the first Bible of Charles the Bald. This Bible like all

all the works of Tours reflects the Gallic sense of proportion and balance in the handling of ornament.

The essential artistic differences between the Germanic and Romance portions of the Carolingian realm consists of the abstract view of the world of the Germans and the realistic grasp of nature by the descendants of the provincial Gallo-Romans. While the German loved the effects of line, pattern, texture, and material, the Gaul used them with restraint and balance. The German accepted the fantasies of interlace and zoomorph from the Island world and elaborated them into the absurdities of the Francp-Saxon school.. To the west the interlace pattern was accepted from either continental or Island sources, but it was kept within bounds and never dominated the ornament. Zoomorphs are uncommon, and when used are rendered realistically. The cleavage between the two portions of the Carolingian world is further emphasized by the restraint and solidity of the ornament of the Metz, Reims, and Tours manuscripts, and the fantastic over-elaboration of the Corbie and St. Gall manuscripts.

The gradual stylistic change within the German portion of the Empire is reflected in the metalwork. The late eighth dentury Kremsmünster chalice, the Enger reliquary, and the older Lindau cover are contemporary with the early manuscripts of Trier, Salzburg, and St. Gall. They all fall under the spell of Island influence. The period of the revival style of the Palace school and the transformation of the Ada-Godescalc school, which must be

assigned to the first part of the ninth century, roughly 800-840, would include the Milan altar antependium and the Pepin reliquary. The later metalwork, so much of which stemmed from the atelier of St. Denis, reveals the complete transformation of the metalwork style through the over-elaboration and over-floralization. These two processes which transformed the manuscripts of Corbie and St. Gall can be seen at work in the covers of the Psalter of Charles the Bald, in the cover of the Codex aureus of St. Emmeran, the Lindau Ashburnham cover, and the altar of Arnulf.[1]

The barbaric motifs, patterns, and techniques thus played an important part in the early phases of Carolingian art, though later they lived on only in a translated form, being integrated into an artistic unity derived from the blending of Mediterranean narrative and pictorial art with Northern decorative and ornamental art. While the stylistic processes involved in the achievement of the full Carolingian art are numerous and are beyond the scope of this enquiry, the motifs and techniques derived from the North can be analysed and traced to their ultimate origins. It now remains to trace these origins in German, ic, Keltic, and Steppe art, for all of these in one instance or another exercised an influence.

[1] Much of this discussion of Carolingian style is based upon Hinks' three chapters, "Picture Space", "Picture Surface", and "Image and Ornament", pp. 161 ff.

CHAPTER III

GERMANIC ELEMENTS IN CAROLINGIAN ART

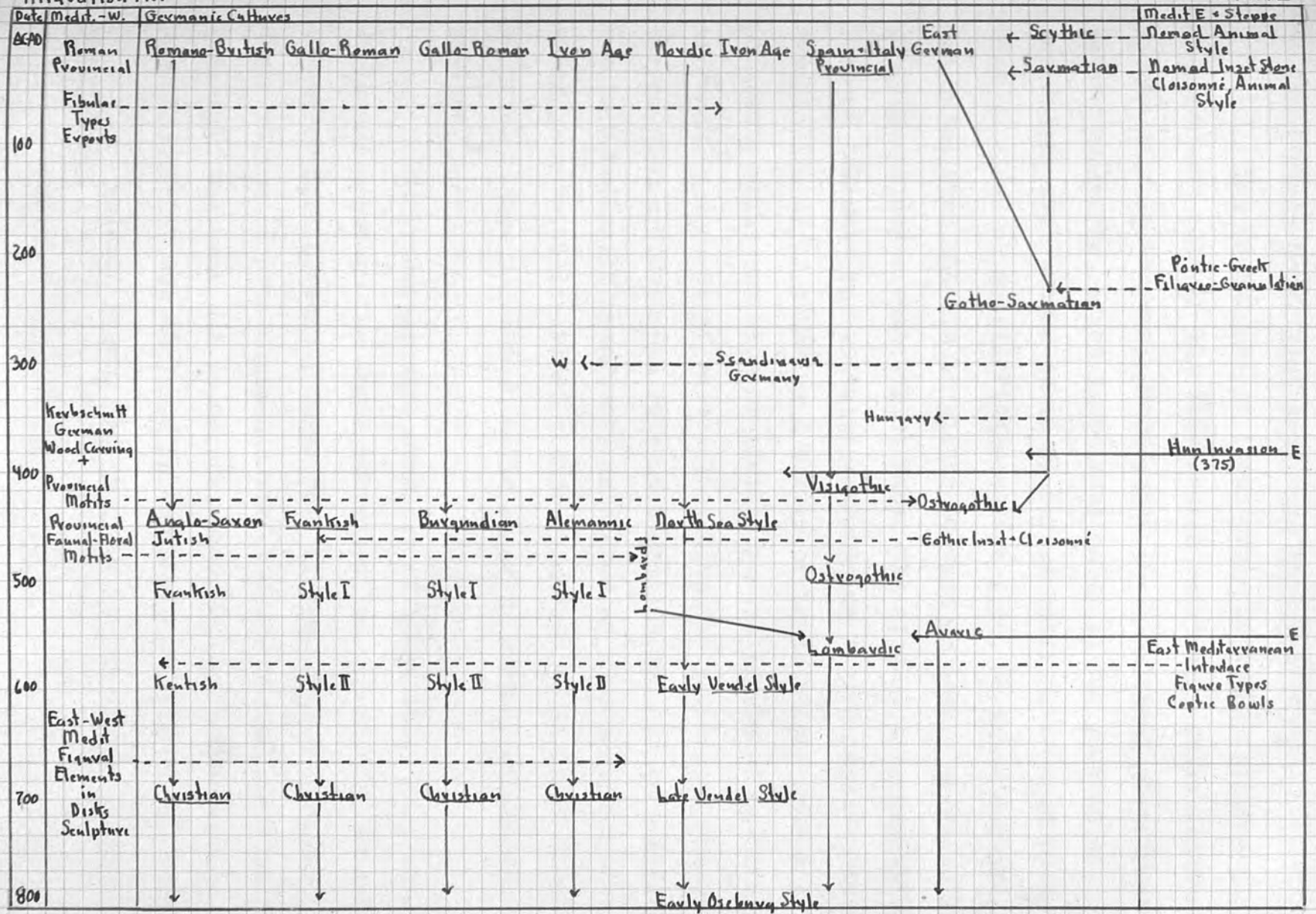
The determination of the character of Germanic influence in Carolingian art is rendered complex by the rapid transformation of the styles of Migration art and their ultimate submergence with the spread of Christianity, which brought a wealth of Mediterranran and Eastern ideas in its wake. It must always be remembered that the art of the Carolingian age is separated from the first phase of the Migration age by six centuries, and from the last of the Migration art by almost a century and a half. Only a few elements of barbaric art survived to be used by the artisans and scribes of the Carolingian monastic ateliers.

The best clues to the survival of Germanic elements are offered by metalwork and manuscript illumination, although even in these fields much of the older art has been completely displaced by Mediterranean and Eastern styles, and floral and elements. Nevertheless the inset stone work, cloisonné, and filigree of the Carolingian metalwork are ultimately survivals of the German Migration style. To these one must add the imitations of these techniques which occur in manuscript illumination, although they also have analogies in borders of Byzantine mosaics. Beyond these technical features, which exhibit Northern affinities, there are one or two animal motifs and Kerbschnitt motifs which occur in stone, metal, and stucco. There is also the even more important problem of Germanic taste and its effect

on style. In order to determine the Germanic sources of these barbaric elements which survived to play a role in Carolingian art, one must trace them back through the arts and crafts of the German Migration cultures (see Chart V). This must be done not only to prove their Germanic character, but also to ascertain their ultimate source. It will be seen that many of the elements of technique and motif which played such a leading role in Migration art are only German by adaptation, for their ultimate source lies in the Mediterranean and Near Eastern areas.

Carolingian Techniques

Unfortunately there is only a limited amount of Carolingian metalwork by which the survival of Germanic techniques may be demonstrated. These techniques can be clearly seen only in the early works such as the Kremsmünster chalice, the Enger reliquary, and the older Lindau Gospel cover, whereas in the Milan altar antependium, the reliquary of Pepin, and later works such as the Codex aureus of St. Emmeran and the Lindai Ashburnham covers, the barbaric techniques of filigree, cloisonné, and inset stone work are used to render an ornament, which, with time, becomes increasingly antique and Eastern in style. In the late Carolingian works such as the Arnulf altar the ornament has become plastic and floral, although once barbaric techniques are still used in the rendering of motifs swept in by the antique revival, whose style dominated the art of the Carolingian renaissance.


Date
Medit.-W.
Germanic Cultures
Medit E + Steppe
A.D.
Roman Provincial
Romano-British
Gallo-Roman
Gallo-Roman
Iron Age
Nordic Iron Age
Spain+Italy Provincial
East German
Scythic
Sarmatian
Nomad Animal Style
Nomad Inset Stone Cloisonné, Animal Style
Fibular Types Exports
100
200
Pontic-Greek Filigree-Granulation
Gotho-Sarmatian
300
W
Scandinavia Germany
Hungary
Kerbschnitt German Wood Carving +
Provincial Motifs
Hun Invasion E (375)
400
Visigothic
Ostrogothic
Provincial Fauna-Floral Motifs
Anglo-Saxon
Jutish
Frankish
Burgundian
Alemannic
North Sea Style
Gothic Inset + Cloisonné
Lombard
500
Frankish
Style I
Style I
Style I
Ostrogothic
Avaric
E
Lombardic
East Mediterranean
Interlace
Figure Types
Coptic Bowls
600
Kentish
Style II
Style II
Style II
Early Vendel Style
East-West Medit Figural Elements in Disks Sculpture
700
Christian
Christian
Christian
Christian
Late Vendel Style
800
Early Oseberg Style

a. Inset Stone Work, Cloisonné, and Filigree

The techniques of inset stone work and filigree played an important role in all Carolingian metalwork, while cloisonné occurs only in the early works, but its completely unknown in later metalwork. Inset stone work entailed the placing of individual stones in a plain or raised settings secured by a band or claws of metal. Filigree technique, on the other hand, was based upon the use of plaits of wire or strips or globules of gold, soldered onto a flat base. The globule or granulation form of filigree was imitated by moulding a wire into a continuous beading or by punching a series of indentations into a strip of metal, while the wire or plait form was simulated by chasing or punching a sheet of metal. The cloisonné technique, which played such a widespread role in Migration art but such a limited one in Carolingian metalwork, consisted of placing triangular or other geometrically-shaped pieces of garnet or glass in a series of metal frames or cloison cells so as to produce an ornamental pattern.[1]

Early Carolingian examples of inset stone work and cloisonné occur on the Enger reliquary (pl. XI a, XXIV c) and the older Lindau Gospel cover (pl. XI b-c, XXIV d). On the Enger reliquary, the cloisonné was used for the delineation of geometric patterns and zoomorphs, while on the older Lindau Gospel cover it was employed in the ornamentation of the borders

[1] Baldwin Brown, The Arts and Crafts of Our Teutonic Forefathers (1910), pp. 194 ff. Rosenberg, op. cit.

and the central cross. On both of these, inset stone work was used to decorate both the cross and zoomorphic field pattern. In contrast with the cloisonné, which is unknown in the products of later Carolingian metalworkers, filigree, which is not found on the extant early Carolingian works, occurs in combination with inset stone work on the Milan altar antependium (pl. XII a-b, XXIII a-b), the reliquary of Pepin (pl. XII c, XXIII c-d), the book covers of the Psalter of Charles the Bald (pl. XIII c, XXIV a-b), the cover of the Codex aureus of St. Emmeran (pl. XIII d, XXIV d), and the Lindau Ashburnham cover (pl. XIV a, XXV a). Inset stone work, consisting of stones placed in highly elaborated almost floralized filigree settings, occurs on the portable altar of Arnulf (pl. XIV b, XXV b).[1]

The patterns which grew out of the use of inset stone work and cloisonné spread to manuscript illumination. Imitations of inset stone work can be seen in manuscripts of the Ada group, the Palace school, and the schools of Trier and Corbie. While the inset stone work reflected in the manuscripts has analogies in the border ornament of Byzantine mosaics, German taste and the traditional use of inset stone work must have played their role, for all these schools occur in lands settled by the Germans. The inset stone motif of the Palace school is illustrated by the border of the Evangelist page (fol. 15) of the Gospels of Charlemagne. This border has an inset stone motif with a setting

[1]For details about metalwork see Chapter II, pp. 54 ff.

surrounded by what may be simulated filigree(pl. XV b), which can be compared with inset stone work and filigree of the Milan altar antependium or the book cover of the Codex aureus of St. Emmeran.[1] Another manuscript of the Palace school, the Aachen Gospels, also has inset stone designs (pl. XV c). Among the manuscripts of the Ada group, an inset stone motif is found on the halo of the Enthroned Christ of the Godescalc Gospels(fol. 3 (pl. XV d).[2] Inset stone motifs also occur on the Canon Table (fol. 16) and initial page (fol. 8) of the Gospels of St.Martin-des-Champs (pl. XVI a-b), and in the Harleian Gospels (fol. 7 (pl. XVI c), both of the Ada group. The cruciform page of the Tegernsee Gospels of the school of Trier likewise has interesting imitations of inset stone work (fol. 16v (pl. XV a). Similar motifs were also extremely popular for the ornamentation of frames in the manuscripts of the school of Corbie, such as the Psalter of Charles the Bald (fol. 4v (pl. XVI d), the Codex aureus of St. Emmeran, the Bible of San Callisto, and the Sacramentary of Metz.[3]

The influence of cloisonné pattern work survived in other media long after it has disappeared in metalwork. Imitations

[1] Compare Boinet, pl. LIX a with Picton pl. LXXXVIIa a and LXXXIV 1.

[2] It is interesting to note that a similar halo with inset stone motifs occurs in the Coptic paintings at Saqqara. These particular motifs may well have a Coptic model in view of the many East Mediterranean elements in the Godescalc Gospels. See Dalton, fig. 175.

[3] Goldschmidt, pl. 23.; Boinet, pl. IVa, XI, XIIa., Goldschmidt, pl. 11b.;Boinet, pl.CXIIIh, CXXb, CXXVa, CXXXIII.

can be seen in the borders of the Godescalc Gospels of the Ada group and the frame ornament of the square-headed arcade of the Evangelist page of the Würzburg Gospels (fol. 105v) of the school of Fulda.[1] Similar influence can also be seen in the pattern work of the arches of Distré and Angers.

The origins of inset stone work, cloisonné, and filigree, which are so often found together, can be traced as a technical complex back through the ecclesiastical art of the Merovingian period to the arts and crafts of the barbaric German cultures. Immediate antecedents for these Carolingian techniques are provided by the Merovingian reliquary of St. Maurice d'Agaune, which dates to the mid-seventh century.[2] One whole side is covered by ornament rendered in inset stone work (pl. XVII a), filigree, and cloisonné. More crudely rendered inset stone work (pl. XVII b) and cloisonné (pl. XXV a-b) occurs on the Merovingian reliquary of St. Bonnet-Avalouze,[3] which dates to the early seventh century. Unfortunately this is all that survives of the relevant Merovingian work, although there must have been a wealth of metalwork to judge from the records and inventories of church

[1] Goldschmidt, pl. 26, 57.

[2] Baum, p. 98, pl.XXXVII 116-117. This reliquary, which has a wooden core, is covered with gold plaques ornamented with cloisonné, filigree, inset stones, and a cameo. See also E.Aubert, Le trésor de Saint Maurice d'Agaune (1872), pp. 141 ff, pl. XI-XIV and Sir Martin Conway, "The Treasury of St. Maurice d'Agaune", Burlington Magazine (1912), XXI, pp. 258 ff, pl. II.

[3] Baum, p. 97, pl. XXXV 113. This reliquary, which also has a wooden core, is covered with copper plates, ornamented on one side with a crude cloisonné cross and inset stones. See also Coutil, p. 83.

treasuries in the days of St. Eloi (A.D. 588-665), the patron of metalwork, treasurer of Dagobert, and Bishop of Tournay.[1]

Outside France and the Merovingian lands, comparable inset stone work and cloisonne occur in Visigothic and Lombardic metalwork. In Visigothic Spain, the combination can be seen on the votive crown of the Visigothic King Recceswinthe (A.D. 652 - 672)(pl. XVII c-d, XXV c-d).[2] The cloisonné stands out particularly in the jewelled letters which spell out the name of the donor (pl. XXV d). Visigothic inset stone work can also be seen on the cross of King Recceswinthe (Madrid) and the votive crown of King Svinthilas (A.D. 621-631).[3] In Lombard Italy, examples include the jewelled cross from the grave of Duke Gisulf at Cividale,[4] and the book cover of Theudelinde from Monza, which has cloisonné borders consisting of a four pointed star and geometric patterns (pl. XXVI a-b).[5]

[1] E. Molinier, "L'art de l'epoque barbare" in Michel, Histoire de l'art . I 1, pp. 421-422. pp. 418 ff.

[2] Baum, p. 100, pl. XLII, 125. This crown, which comes from the church of the Virgin at Fuente de Guarrazar near Toledo, is now in the Musée de Cluny, Paris.

[3] Haupt, pl. Vi, VII, VIII.

[4] Haupt, pl. IV.

[5] Haupt, pl. XI. The Visigothic and Lombard metalwork exhibits strong Byzantine elements which differentiates it from the metalwork of Merovingian France. Nevertheless, as we shall see, the techniques of inset stone work and cloisonné had a long history among the Visigoths and Lombards. This history coupled with the analogies between the Visigothic votive crowns and the openwork metal baskets of Petrossa indicates that German artisans must have had a hand in the creation of metalwork for the church.

The occurance of inset stone work, cloisonné, and filigree in the seventh and eighth century ecclesiastical metalwork of France, Spain, and Italy has been traced to both Byzantine and Germanic sources. Some scholars[1] believe that the entire complex of inset stone work, garnet and glass cloisonné, enamel cloisonné, and filigree was complex, stemming from the late antique sources suggested by Riegl. In Byzantine metalwork these techniques can be traced from sixth century works, such as the St. Radegund's reliquary of Poitiers[2] to the tenth and eleventh century works like the reliquary of Limburg-on-the-Lahn and the Mercian Library cover.[3] Undoubtedly an independent metalwork tradition which was drawn from Mediterranean, Steppe, and Near Eastern sources existed at Byzantium , but its whole stylistic effect differs from that of Western metalwork of the Merovingian age. Byzantine work is restrained and balanced and never suffers from over-elaboration which is characteristic of the metalwork of the West. While Visigothic and Lombardic metalwork, both secular and ecclesiastical, exhibits Byzantine and Eastern

[1] Wladimir Zaloziecky, "Das byzantinische Kunstgewerbe in der frühmittelalterlichen und spätmittelalterlichen Periode", in H. Th. Bossert, Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes (1932), V,pp.129ff

[2] Sir Martin Conway, "St. Radegund's reliquary at Poitier Antiquaries Journal (1923), III,1, pp. 1 ff. believes the Byzantine cloisonné could have come from the Steppe via the Pontic craftsmen who fled to Byzantium before the Huns. An independent tradition would have developed at Byzantium, which spread westward to account for the finer metalwork of Italy and Spain.

[3] D. Talbot Rice, Byzantine Art (1935). p.168. Dalton, p. 522, fig. 311, p. 513, fig. 308, pp. 534 ff.

elements in the same fashion as the later Milan altar antependium and the reliquary of Pepin, metalwork of Merovingian France has closer affinities with German Migration art than with Byzantine art.

The few surviving works of the Merovingian age have a barbaric flavour and a style which is derived from the late Migration art of the Germans.[1] The type of interlace, as on the reliquary of St. Bonnet-Avalouze, and the handling of cloisonné, inset stone work, and filigree indicate German rather than Byzantine sources. Although the Migration art with its zoomorphic ornament and traditional fibula, buckle, and brooch types died out among the continental Germans by the seventh century, many of the barbaric techniques, and above all, the barbaric sense of style penetrated into the art of the Church as converted Germans entered the monasteries. The use of Germanic cloisonné, inset stone work, and filigree can be seen on metalwork made under the patronage of the Church. While the form may be based upon models traditional within Christian art, the craftsmanship must represent a blend of Germanic and Mediterranean elements. Although influences from Byzantium and the Mediterranean may well

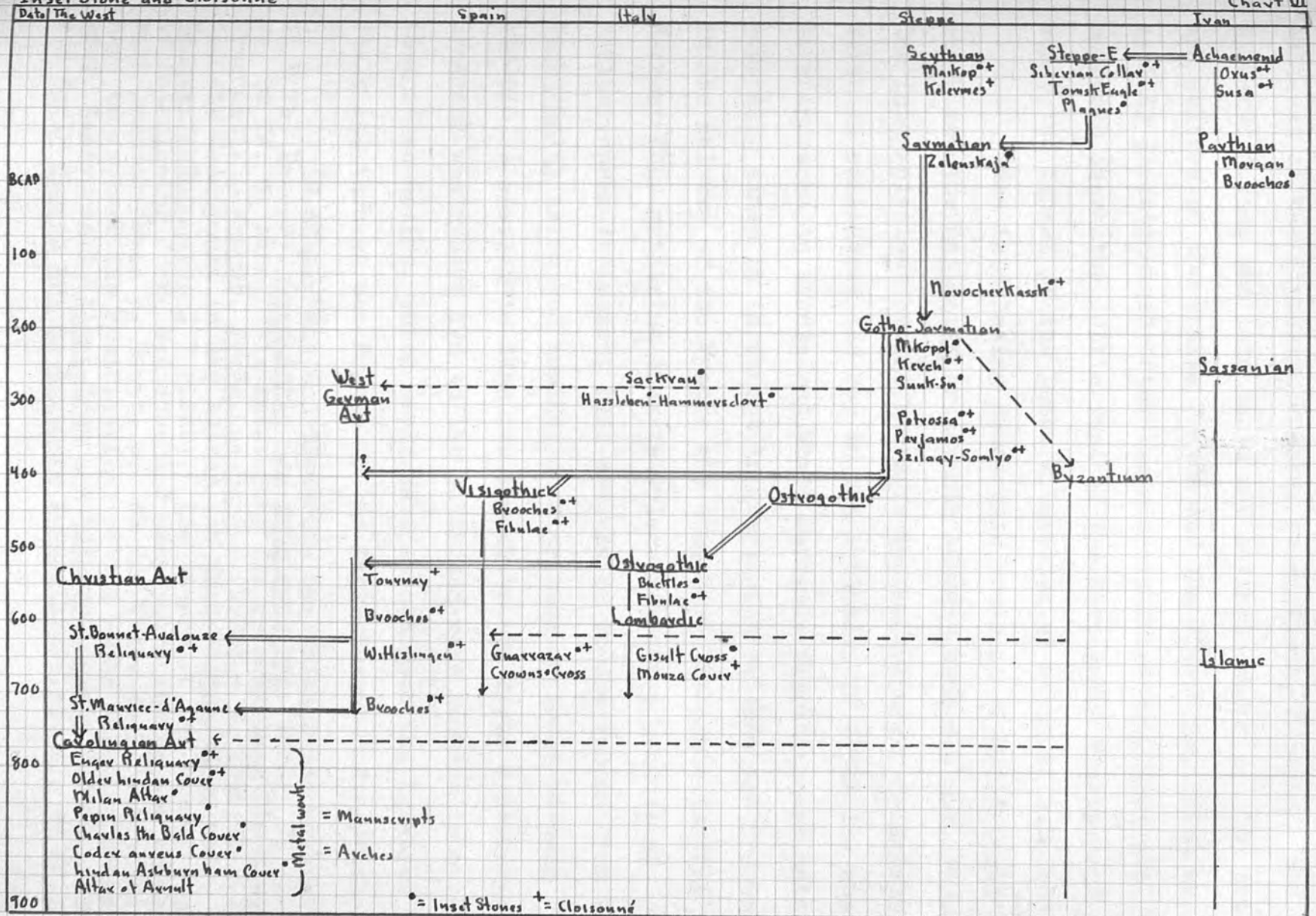
[1]For general literature on Migration Art see: H. Kühn, Vorgeschichtliche Kunst Deutschlands (1935). and J. Baum have excellent bibliographies. For older works see: Barrière-Flavy, Les arts industriels des peuples barbares de la Gaule (1901), J. Hoops, Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde (1901-1913), E. Brenner,"Der Stand der Forschung über die Kultur der Merowingerzeit" VII, Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission (1912), pp. 252 ff. Lindenschmidt, Handbuch der deutschen Altertumskunde (1880-1889).

have led to technical refinements, the techniques of cloisonné, inset stone work, and filigree, which have a long history in Migration art, were German and were used by German artisans to glorify the altars, book covers, reliquaries, and chalices of the Church.

The techniques of inset stone work, filigree, and cloisonné (see Charts VI-VII) which occur on Merovingian ecclesiastical works and achieve such a remarkable development in Carolingian metalwork can be traced directly to the jewellery of the Germanic Migration cultures. The Carolingian and Merovingian work in these techniques has a logical geographical and chronological relationship to late Frankish and Alemannic work. All these techniques occur on the characteristic round and polygonal brooches, which survive into the early eighth century. Although the rich Frankish and Alemannic jewellery of pagan graves vanishes from the Christian burials of late Merovingian and Carolingian times, the jewellery techniques must have been transferred gradually to the monastic ateliers after the beginning of the seventh century.

These techniques played an important role in the seventh century art of the barbaric Germans, although it was dominated by interlace and its application to zoomorphic forms. In order to describe the cultural context of these techniques before their absorption into the art of the Church, one must consider the cultural movements which affected the late Migration

Inset Stone and Cloisonné



cultures of the Ripuarian Franks, Burgundians, Alemanni, and Lombards during the late sixth and seventh centuries. The art and culture of the Salian Franks and the Visigoths, which was rapidly Christianized after the mid-sixth century, lost its barbaric character, while that of the Ostrogoths disappeared under the impact of the Lombard invasion of Italy in A.D. 568.

The interlacing zoomorphic ornament of Salin Style II, which was the Leitmotif of seventh century barbaric art, shows the interrelations of the barbaric German cultures. Interlace, which is considered the key to the evolution of Style II, must have appeared in Middle and North European Migration art after A.D. 531, since it is absent in Thuringian culture and present in the culture of the Franks who conquered Thuringia in 531. Herbert Kühn maintains that interlace was not a product of Mediterranean influence, but evolved in Middle Europe from the Kerbschnitt which had dominated Migration ornament between 450-550. According to Kühn its impact on the Style I zoomorphic ornament would have led to the later and more complex interlaced zoomorphic motifs, which would have spread with the Lombards into Italy and through the Franks to the Anglo-Saxons.[1] Nevertheless

[1] H.Kühn, "Das Kunstgewerbes der Völkerwanderungszeit", in M.Th. Bossert, Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes (1928), I, pp. 82 ff. H. Kühn, "Die Entstehung der germanischen Flechtbandornamentik", Mannus, Ergänzungsband 6 (1928). H. Kühn,"Das Jahr 550 als Wendepunkt in der Kultur der Völkerwanderungszeit", Mannus,Ergänzungsband 7 (1929). The theory of the Germanic origin of interlacing forms was advanced many years ago on the basis of much less evidence by Haupt, pp. 59 ff. There is hardly space here to explore the ramifications of the North Asiatic theories of J. Strzygowski, Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung (1917),pp.194 ff and Early Church Art in Northern Europe(1928),pp. 6 , 28 ff.

Rhine valley. The importance of this north-south artery is illustrated not only by the spread of interlace, but by the finds of Coptic bronze bowls in Lombard graves in Italy and at Pfalheim (Württemberg), Walluf (Rheinprovinz), and other Rhineland sites as well as in Anglo-Saxon graves of England.[1]

The various figural elements which appeared in the seventh century in the art of the Germans of Middle Europe, must have spread over this route from the Mediterranean to the North. It is unlikely that these elements would have come via the Danube valley and the Avaric culture, which has an ornament of scrolls, floral forms, and animal motifs differing from those which appear in the West, and southwest France, where the Aquitaine material, which exhibits a strikingly non-Germanic character, offers no analogies.[2] These figural elements first appear on buckles from sites of the Burgundian culture, which blossomed in the seventh century with the re-opening of the Alpine routes. While the "Daniel in the Lions' Den" motif on Burgundian buckles, which has a wide Eurasiatic distribution extending from Siberia to Sutton Hoo[3] and must ultimately go back to the ancient Near Eastern motif of the hero subduing the lion, though it cannot be traced to a more definite source. The Biblical scenes on these

[1] Leeds, pp. 77-8. See also R.A. Smith, A Guide to the Anglo-Saxon and Foreign Teutonic Antiquities (British Museum, 1923), p. 157.

[2] N. Åberg, Merovingian Empire, pp. 65 ff, pp. 122 ff.

[3] E.H. Minns, "The Art of the Northern Nomads", Proceedings of the British Academy (1942), XXVIII, pp. 36-37.

buckles, although rendered with a concentionalization that may be Germanic, must have been inspired by Coptic or East Mediterranean influences, because their stylistic affinities and thematic analogies with similar scenes in the Coptic minor arts.[1] In Alemannic lands the arrival of Mediterranean elements is signalled not only by interlace but by Lombard gold foil crosses and the figural elements of the Gutenstein sword scabbard and the Ingersheim plaque.[2] The late seventh century also brought the appearance of figural elements in the art of the Franks. The perforated disk which had appeared at the end of the sixth century acquired a figural decoration in the seventh century, consisting of the human figure or a mounted horseman carrying a spear. The Frankish disks from Morstadt and Darmstadt and the Alemannic disk from Ingersheim rank with the scenes of the Burgundian belt buckles as the first signs of human figural art among the Germans.[3] Human motifs next appear on the first sculptured reliefs of the continental Germans at Niederdollendorf, Leutesdorf, and Hornhausen, the last of which is dated A.D. 700.[4] The late perforated disk from Minden near Trier, interestingly, turns

[1] W. Conway, "On Burgundian Buckles and Coptic Influences" Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London (1917-18). XXX, 2nd series, pp. 63 ff. Baum, pl. XXV-XXVII.

[2] Kühn, Kunstgewerbe, pp. 84 ff, pl on pp. 77,79.; F. Behn, Germanische Stammeskulturen der Völkerwanderungszeit (1937), pl. 32-33.. Baum, pl. XXIX, 96.

[3] Kühn, Vorgeschichtliche Kunst Deutschlands.

[4] Baum, pl. XLVI 132-134, XLVII 136, XLVIII 137-138.

from the representation of barbaric motifs to the Virgin and Child theme.[1]

The late seventh-early eighth century culture of the Germans of Middle Europe thus shows the penetration of Mediterranean and Oriental artistic elements into barbaric art.[2] This process illustrates the increasing interchanges between German art and Christian Mediterranean art as the Church pushed into still barbaric lands. With the end of the seventh century, barbaric graves become rarer and rarer with Christianization, whose figural art was destined to sweep away the old pagan art of the Germans.

These movements, which transformed the whole of late barbaric German art, might indicate that the jewellery techniques of inset stone work, filigree, and cloisonné entered the Germanic artistic complex with the spread of interlace and figural elments. It can be shown, however, that these technical elements not only have a history going back into the earlier Migration period, but achieved their highest development, not in Lombard Italy, which one would expect if they were inspired by late sixth-early seventh century Mediterranean sources, but among the Franks and above all in the Kentish jewellery of the Anglo-Saxons.[3]

[1] Kühn, op. cit.

[2] Édouard Salin, "Sur quelques images tutélaires de la Gaule mérovingienne apports orientaux et survivances sumériennes", Syria (1942-1943) XXIII, pp. 201 ff. Excellent study of the diffusion of Oriental figural types to the Merovingian West.

[3] Leeds, pp. 52-53.

The cloisonné, filigree, and inset stone work of the ecclesiastical metalwork of Carolingian and Merovingian times must go back to Frankish and Alemannic sources. The combination of these techniques can be seen on the circular and polygonal brooches, which became increasingly elaborate after the beginning of the seventh century. With the buckles and strap ends, they became the major artistic vehicles, as the old square and round-headed fibulae died out among the continental Germans. The excellence of Frankish work in these techniques is shown by the brooches of the Morgan collection of the Metropolitan Museum of New York (pl. XVIII b, XXXI a)[1] and the brooch of the British Museum (pl. XXXI b).[2] In the Rhineland there is a dated example from Mosheimer (Hessen) which is fixed chronologically by Frankish coins of the early eighth century. Although the brooches disappear from archaeological sites after A.D. 700, the round brooch form lived on, for one can be seen on the shoulder of Lothair in the Lothair Gospel Book (pl. VII a). Other earlier examples come from Freilaubdergeim, Soest (pl. VI c), Cobern, Gondorf, Niederbreisig (pl. XVIII c), Metloch, and Gonnersdorf, all in the Rheinprovinz.[3] These examples coupled with an encrusted griffin from Lens near Arras (pl. XIX a) and griffins in the Cluny Museum, the Museum der Völkerkunde (Berlin)(pl.XIX b)

[1]J.J. Rorimer, Medieval Jewelry,Metropolitan Museum (1944), pl. 12.S. de Ricci, Catalogue of a Collection of Merovingian Antiquities belonging to J.Pierpont Morgan (1910),pl. III, 44-45.

[2]Smith, pl. XV 9.

[3]Schuchhardt, fig. 272. Kühn , pp. 183 ff.

and the Morgan Collection (pl. XVIII d), are sufficient to show the prevalence of the techniques of inset stone work, cloisonné, and filigree among the Franks.[1] The development of these elements among the Alemanni is shown by the inset stones (pl. XIX c), cloisonné (pl. XXVII b), and filigree (pl. XXXI c-d) of the circular brooch and the cloisonné (pl. XXVII a) and filigree of the large semi-circular-headed fibula from the seventh century graves at Wittislingen.[2] Other Alemannic examples with cloisonné come from Ulm, Esslingen, and several sites in Baden.

This technical complex is also found among the Lombards, whose culture is known from grave materials extending chronologically from the invasion in A.D. 568 until they begin to dwindle out around A.D. 650. The combination of inset stone work, filigree and cloisonné is shown on the circular brooch from Castel Trosino (pl. XXXII b, XX a).[3] The elaboration of filigree can be seen on the sword hilt from Nocera Umbra (pl. XXXII a), while complex cloisonné designs occur on the brooch (pl. XXVII d) and on the S-shaped zoomorphic brooches from Cividale (pl. XXVII c).[4] These barbaric techniques would have survived among the Lombards to combine with Byzantine elements to produce later works such as the Monza book cover.

[1] Baum, p. 94, pl. XXX 101. Rorimer, pl. 12, Kühn, Kunstgewerbe, pl. Vi 3. De Ricci, pl. VII 92.

[2] F.Behn, pl. 33.

[3] F.Behn, pl. 23.

[4] Åberg, Goten und Langobarden (1923), fig. 157, Haupt. pl. V.

Before the seventh century, before the rise of complex interlacing zoomorphic ornament and the elaboration of the circular and polygonal brooches among the Franks, Alemanni, and Lombards the art of the West Germans consisted of floral, animal, and scroll and meander Kerbschnitt motifs borrowed from Roman provincial culture, and of inset stone work, filigree, and cloisonné, which must, as we shall see, have come west with the movements of the East Germans or perhaps earlier through trade with the Gotho-Sarmatian culture.

During the third and fourth centuries, when the Gotho-Sarmatian culture was dominant on the Pontic steppe, Rome held the Rhenish and Danubian frontier against the gathering forces of barbarism. The interpenetration of Roman and German culture during this period is indicated by graves in Gaul of German soldiers who served in the Roman auxiliaries,[1] by the widespread distribution of sherds of Terra sigillata in Germany, and by the occurance in Germany of hoards of silver, such as the famous Hildesheim treasure (A.D. 200). Despite strong Roman commercial influence and even the adaptation of the Roman crossbow fibulae by the Germans, few Roman provincial elements were absorbed into Germanic art until after the fourth century.[2] The provincial contributions included scroll and meander Kerbschnitt motifs, which will be discussed later, the vine scroll, and the couchant

[1] LeClercq, "France", in Cabrol-LeClercq, Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne (1923), V 2, col 2197 ff.

[2] Schuchhardt, pp. 251 ff.

and rampant animal. The inhabited vine scroll, which was a popular element of decoration on late antique helmets such as those from Dalmatia, Italy, Germany, and France, became crude through careless copying among the provincials, while among the Germans it disintegrated into a meaningless series of arcs and dots through unintelligent imitation. This can be seen on the Frankish bucket mounts from Baauvais (Oise) and Miany (Somme).[1] The couchant and rampant quadrupeds which appear on continental and Kentish fibulae in the first phases of western Migration art do not have Asiatic or German sources, but must be derived from provincial faunal forms such as those engraved on buckles from Gallo-Roman Vermand and the later non-German Aquitanian buckles.[2] The first stages of the Germanic adaptation of the provincial beast is illustrated by the Galsted and Anderlingen fibulae. both of which have a quadruped as a border ornament on an object dominated by Kerbschnitt motifs. The lack of understanding of this motif coupled with the desire to render it as surface ornament, led to the disintegration of the beast into a series of heads, thighs, and limbs. This process produced the characteristic Salin Style I zoomorph, which, with Kerbschnitt motifs, dominated the ornament of the early and middle sixth century.[3]

[1] Leeds, pp. 14 ff.

[2] Smith, fig. 3. Leeds, pl. V. Åberg, Merovingian Empire, fig. 21.

[3] Leeds, p. 49, 67, 71. Baum, pl. XXII 65. F. Behn, pl. 26. See Salin, Altgermanische Thierornamentik (1904).

The first phase of Frankish, Thuringian, Burgundian, and Alemannic culture was not completely dominated by elements borrowed from provincial sources. There is overwhelming evidence for the influence of Steppe techniques and animal motifs such as the cicada, bird's head, bird and quadruped, as well as fibula and jewellery types. These elements must have come from the east, for they have no previous history in West German or provincial art and culture. Among the Franks fully developed cloisonne work occurs on the sword hilts (fig. 27a)(pl.XXVI c), buckles, and strap ends from the grave of Childeric (died 481) at Tournay.[1] These finds, which reflect the state of Frankish culture on the eve of the advance into Roman Gaul, include the steer head, bird's head, and cicada motif, all pointing to the strength of Steppe influence in the West. Cloisonné like that of Tournay can also be seen in the finds from d'Arcy, Beauvais, Altlussheim, and Flonheim.[2] The combination of cloisonné (pl. XXVI d) and filigree is illustrated by a brooch in the Morgan Collection.[3] Inset stone work, which occurs on many Frankish brooches, can also be seen on fibulae with a parallel sided foot, which may have evolved locally from the Roman crossbow fibula,

[1] Baum, p. 76, pl. XI 22. Schuchhardt, p. 301, fig.270. Cochet, Le tombeau de Childeric Ier (1850), pp. 62 ff. fig. on p. 65. Lebarte, Histoire des arts industriels (1872), I, pp. 252 ff Babelon, "Le Tombeau du roi Childeric et les origines de l'orfèvrie cloisonné", Mémoires de la société nationale des antiquaries de France (1924), LXXVI, pp. 74 ff.

[2] Baum, pp. 29 ff.

[3] Rorimer, pl. 13. De Ricci, pl. II.

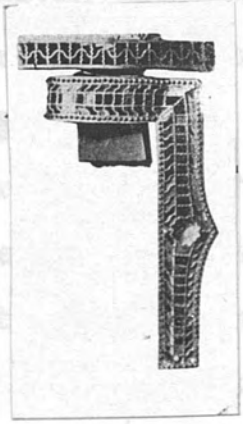


Fig. 27. Sword Hilt, Tournay.

and on fibulae with a lozenge foot, which might be products of Ostrogothic influence along the Rhine. These two fibula types, which were found at Herpes,[1] were ornamented with spiral scroll and meander motifs in Kerbschnitt. The rampant and couchant animal forms, which were borrowed from provincial sources, were still restricted to the edges of the Frankish fibulae. After the middle of the sixth century, the Franks who had settled in Gaul gradually gave up their old culture as they were absorbed into the provincial population and converted to Christianity. To the east, as we have seen, barbaric culture continued into the seventh century among the Ripuarian Franks, who elaborated the inset stone work, filigree, and cloisonné techniques.

The importance of these techniques among the West Germans is shown by the cloisonné and inset stone work on finds from the Thuringian warrior graves at Weimar, which must date before A.D. 531.[2] Among the Burgundians, who had moved from the Main valley through the Belfort gap to eastern France and Switzerland in the middle of the fifth century, cloisonné fibulae with semi-circular heads occur in the impoverished sites of Brochon (Cote d'Or) and St. Sulpice (Lausanne).[3] The Alemanni, who had occupied southwestern Germany, held the lands not only at the northern end of the Alpine passes but astride the routes lead-

[1] Smith, pp. 144 ff. Leeds p. 49. The Herpes material must date after the Frankish defeat of the Visigoths, A.D. 507.

[2] Schuchhardt, pp. 303 ff. fig. 274.

[3] Åberg, pp. 42 ff. H.LeClercq,"Fibula", in Cabrol-LeClercq, Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne(1923),V 2, pl. I.

ing up the Danube from Hungary to the West. Although they were exposed to Italian and Steppe influences, the latter radiating through Hungary, their culture belonged to the West German area. While it is easy to distinguish pottery types, their tools, weapons, and jewellery forms, which have animal decoration, inset stone work, and cloisonné, are at first difficult to distinguish from the Frankish. This was because both the Franks and Alemanni were exposed to the same provincial and Steppe influences.[1] To this group of German tribes must be added the Lombards, who had lived between the lower Elbe and Weser in the first century A.D., but had migrated to the Middle Danubian plain in the late second century. By the sixth century, they were settled in Pannonia adjacent to modern Austria and not far from southern Germany. In 568 they were driven into Italy under the pressure of the Avaric invasion of Hungary. They possessed a culture distinct from that of the Ostrogoths, its affinities being with Middle Europe rather than the Gothic world. They brought an ornament characterized by Style I zoomorphs, spiral and meander Kerbschnitt motifs, and Steppe techniques. These motifs and techniques were used to decorate fibulae with an oval foot, like those which were common among the Alemanni.[2]

[1] Schuchhardt, pp. 295 ff.

[2] Åberg, Goten und Langobarden, pp. 40 ff, 47 ff, 144 ff. Nils Åberg, Lombard Italy, The Occident and the Orient in the Art of the Seventh Century, Part II. Kungl. Vitterhets.Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens, Handlingar Del. 56: 2 (1945), pp. 78 ff. Schaffran, Die Kunst der Langobarden in Italien (1941).

The metalwork techniques of Carolingian and Merovingian art can thus be traced back through the cultures of the Franks, Alemanni, Burgundians, and Lombards to the period of the Gothic invasions of the West (see Map II). These invasions had been set off by the impact of the Huns who crossed the Volga and pushed westward across the Pontic steppe around A.D. 375. The Huns, who brought not an Ordos Animal Style art, but one characterized by a geometrical ornament with inset stone work, destroyed the Gotho-Sarmatian culture and drove the East and West Goths west and southward from the Steppe and Balkans.[1] By the late fourth century the Visigoths had crossed the Danube and entered the Roman Empire, while the Ostrogoths, subjugated by the Huns, settled in Hungary. The impact of these movements may well have dislodged the Vandals from the Balkans and set them on their migration through Germany, France, and Spain to Africa (A.D. 427). During the period of Hunnic dominance the art of the Goths was modofied through contact with the surviving provincial culture of the Danubian frontier, for Gothic ornament now acquires the Mediterranean scroll and meander motifs rendered in Kerbschnitt. At the beginning of the fifth century, the Visigoths, with a culture derived from the Gotho-Sarmatian and coloured by Roman provincial borrowings, advanced into Italy, and after a brief sojourn there, moved to southwestern France (A.D. 412) and Spain (A.D. 414). Inset stone work occurs on the Visigothic belt buckles of

[1] Minns, Art of the Northern Nomad, p. 33.

the Morgan Collection and the eagle fibula from Estremadura (pl. XXIII d), and cloisonné on this same fibula (pl. XXX c) and the buckle from Herrera de Pisuerga (pl. XXX d).[1] The Ostrogoths, who had remained in the Balkans through most of the fifth century, invaded and conquered the Italian Kingdom of Odovakar in A.D. 493. They too used the techniques of inset stone work and cloisonné, which they applied to buckles, fibulae, and eagle fibulae, such as those of Rome and Cesena (pl. XXX b).[2]

The rareness of filigree and the absence of round brooches among the Goths in Spain might indicate that the complex of techniques found on the later round brooches of the West Germans did not spread via the Ostrogoths or Visigoths after their departure from the Balkans, but reached the West Germans directly from the Gothic and Gotho-Sarmatian cultures of the Balkans and Pontic steppe. Whatever may be the case, the space-time relationship of the West German cultures with the Gothic and Gotho-Sarmatian cultures during the fourth and fifth centuries, coupled with the absence of Steppe techniques as a complex in Roman provincial art, indicates that their source lies to the east in the Balkans and beyond on the Steppe.

To disentangle the respective contributions of German, Steppe, and Roman provincial sources to the formation of Migration art and the techniques of filigree, inset stone work,

[1] Rorimer, pl. 9. F. Behn, pl. 12-13.

[2] Åberg, Goten und Langobarden, pp. 1 ff, figs. 4,9,11, 26,48-49. F. Behn, pl. 12. Åberg, Lombard Italy, pp. 5-6.

and cloisonné, one must survey the origins of the Gotho-Sarmatian culture and its development before the departure of the Goths for Italy and Spain.

The German Migration age begins with the movement of the Goths from the Oder-Vistula plains to the western Pontic steppe. The Goths before their arrival on the Steppe possessed a Pre-Migration culture characterized by simple Germanic pottery, buckles, Roman crossbow fibulae, and simple fibulae with a turned back foot. There is nothing in the inventory which can be considered typical of Migration culture. The Gothic migration to the southeast, which was undertaken sometime between A.D. 140 - 175 was followed by the consolidation of their hold on the Pontic steppe during the first half of the third century. By A.D. 251 they had seized control of the Crimea and established their control over the Greco-Pontic cities. In the sixties of that century they raided southwards, attacking cities in Greece and Asia Minor. On the steppe, the first phase of Gothic occupation is marked archaeologically by the graves at Romachki, Tchernakow, and Maslova in the Ukraine and at Marosszentana in Transylvania. These graves, which are dated to about A.D. 300, yield the old pottery and fibulae types. There is, however, a new fibula type with a semi-circular head and a lozenge foot, which was elaborated from Roman prototypes by adding plates to cover springs and catch.[1]

[1]Kühn, Vorgeschichtliche Kunst Deutschlands, pp. 155 ff. Baum, pp. 27-28. Baldwin-Brown, pp. 139 ff.

Map II Invasions of Germanic Peoples.

On the Pontic steppe and in the Balkans the Goths encountered and amalgamated with Sarmatians, and came into intimate contact with the Greco-Pontic and Roman provincial cultures. They accepted and assimilated elements of style and technique from these three cultures. The mixing of the various streams of artistic influence which went into the formation of Gothic Migration art may well have been effected by Greek craftsmen of the Pontic cities, who made jewellery for the barbarian invaders.[1] In the third and fourth centuries, the Goths must have employed both Greek and Sarmatian craftsmen, and they must have been accompanied on their later westward migrations both by Hellenized Sarmatians and perhaps even came Greeks turned Nomad.[2] In the Balkans, where they were driven after the Huns broke up the Gotho-Sarmatian realm on the steppe, the Goths came into contact with Roman provincial culture, which further modified the Migration art of the East Germans. The culture and art of the Sarmatians, however, exercised the dominant influence on the art of the Goths because their nomadic art possessed the same abstract conceptual style.

The Sarmatians had invaded the Pontic steppe in the third century before Christ, displacing the Scyths and driving them into the Crimea and Dobruja. This occurred at the same time that the Sacae, Parthians, and Yueh-chih were invading Iran and

[1] E.H. Minns, Scythians and Greeks (1913), pp. 280 ff.

[2] M. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks in South Russia (1922), pp. 185 ff.

India. The Sarmatians and the accompanying Alan tribes were basically Iranians, but with an equipment, costume, and artistic taste distinct from that of the Scythians. They were armed with the lance, wore coats of mail and conical helmets, and used the spur and stirrup, all of which they passed on to the Goths. This new military equipment not only greatly helped the Goths in their victories over the Romans, but foreshadowed the arms and armour of the medieval knight.[1]

Sarmatian art was opposed in every sense to the florid naturalism of Greco-Scythian art. The famous Sarmatian finds at Novocherkassk, which are dated by Minns to the third century A.D.[2] and by Rostovtzeff to the first century B.C. or A.D.[3] include a cloisonné strip, and a bracelet ornamented with crouching animals which have pear-shaped and triangular inset stones, giving a polychrome effect.[4] The combination of inset stone work with filigree is illustrated by the oval and round brooches from Artyukkov's Farm, Akhtanizovka, Titorovskaja, and Zubov's Farm, which date from the third to first centuries B.C. These brooches show a combination of circular, spectacle spiral, and figure eight filigree with inset stone work (pl. XXXIII a).[5]

[1]Minns, Art of the Northern Nomad, p. 10.

[2]Minns, p. 28. pl. XXVII g.

[3]Rostovtzeff, p. 4.

[4]Minns, Scythians and Greeks, fig. 143.

[5]Rostovtzeff, p. 233, fig. 19.

Fig. 28 Siberian Animal Plaque.

Fig. 29 Siberian Collar Terminal.

Such brooches are rare in Roman territory and must be regarded as Sarmatian products. Besides these brooches are found artifacts with animal motifs, which the Sarmatians had inherited from the earlier animal style of the steppe. While we cannot go into the problems of the Eurasiatic animal style, which have been so ably discussed by Minns, Rostovtzeff, Kondakoff, Tolstoi, Reinach, and above all, Borovka,[1] the animal motifs used by the Sarmatians consisted of bird heads, cicadas, steer heads, zoomorphs in an S-form, and quadrupeds in crouching and enrolled forms, all of which have a long history on the steppe. In Sarmatian times these animal forms were increasingly stylized into almost geometric shapes, which were later to prove particularly acceptable to the Germans. Their surfaces, which were often flat, were set with stones.[2]

The Sarmatian inset stone work and cloisonné can be traced through the steppe to the East. The pear-shaped and triangular inset stones of the Novocherkassk bracelet and the Sarmatian brooches give a polychrome effect like that of the Siberian plaques (fig. 28), while the form of the animals on the bracelet recalls that of animals of the armlet from the Oxus treasure and the Siberian collar in the Hermitage (fig. 29).[3]

[1] For Scythian art and the Animal Style consult, Minns Scythians and Greeks and Art of the Northern Nomads. Borovka, Scythian Art (1928), Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks, and The Animal Style in South Russia and China (1929). Kondakoff, Tolstoi, Reinach, Antiquites de la Russie méridionale (1892).

[2] Minns, pp. 28-29.

[3] O.M. Dalton, The Treasure of the Oxus (1926), pl. I. Minns, pl. XV c.

Fig. 30 The Kelermes Lioness.

The cloisonné work from Novocherkassk can be matched by that of the same Siberian collar and the Tomsk eagle.[1] While it is impossible to correlate these two techniques with the art of the Sarmatians before their arrival in South Russia from Siberia and Turkestan, they were common in these latter areas, where they must reflect influence from Achaemenid Persia. The cloisonné and inset stone work found on the Siberian collar of the Hermitage (like pl. XXIX a),[2] are similar to that of the Achaemenid armlet of the Oxus treasure (pl. XXIX d)[3] and the Susa torque[4], all belonging to the period before the Sarmatian invasion of the Pontic steppe. There is also evidence of Achaemenid influence on Scythian art in South Russia, as indicated by the Duvanli vase and the Chertomlyk sword hilt, which are like those represented on the reliefs at Persepolis.[5] Similarly the inlaid eye and the cloisonné of the Scythian lioness (fig.30) (pl. XXIX b)[6] and amber inlay (pl. XXIX c)[7] of Kelermeskaja Staniza and the inset stone and cloisonné of the Mailop[8] belt

[1] Baldwin Brown, pl. XXIII 91.

[2] Minns, p. 25, pl. XV c.

[3] Dalton, pl. I.

[4] Minns, fig. 4.

[5] Minns, p. 25.

[6] Minns, pl. I a.

[7] Picton, pl. XI 3.

[8] Minns, pl. XVI a.

buckle (pl. XXIX a) may well be products of Persian influence.

The true polychrome beast style apparently evolved in western Siberia after the period of the Siberian collar, Oxus armlet, and Susa torque. This style, which, likewise, must have been inspired from Persia, was characterized by the addition of garnet and turquoise insets to the bodies of animals on the Siberian plaques. These animal plaques, which have crudely gouged out settings filled with turquoise or a pinkish stone, include the Siberian Griffin and Horse plaque (pl. XXI b), the Eagle and Yak plaque (pl. XXI c), and the Minussinsk gold plaque (pl. XXI c of the Hermitage collections.[1] These may be nomad adaptations of an Achaemenid technique, and although they can hardly be assigned to the Sarmatians, they may well reflect the currency of inset stone work on the eastern steppe. Although there were western outliers of this style at Scythian Maikop and Kelermes, it was dominant on the steppe north of Iran.

The inset stone work and cloisonné of these plaques and of the Siberian collar and Tomsk eagle, which have affinities with the Oxus and Susa finds, assure an intimate connection between western Siberia and Persia. While the collar and eagle indicate the diffusion of Achaemenid elements by trade or by actual movement of Persian artisans, the Siberian plaques are nomadic adaptations of Persian work. O. M. Dalton in his study

[1] Minns, pl. XVI b. Borovka, "Kunstgewerbe der Skythen" H.Th.Bossert, Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes (1928), I, pl.p. 145, 6 pl. p. 147 1. pl. p. 145 3. pl44. Minns, pl. XVII a, XVI a.

[2] Dalton, pp. lii-liii.

on inlaid jewellery has shown how the techniques of cloisonné and particularly inset stone work can be traced from Siberia (Siberian collar and the Tomsk eagle) and Bactria (Oxus treasure) to Persia (Susa finds) and ultimately to Assyria and Sumer.[1]

The Sarmatian inset stone work of the western steppe may be compared chronologically with Parthian rather than Achaemenid work. Fabricated and gouged-out settings like those so popular in Sarmatian and Siberian jewellery occur on the Parthian eagle brooch of the Morgan Collection (pl. XXII a-b). The fabricated type of setting is better shown by a more elaborate round Parthian brooch of the Morgan Collection (pl. XII c).[2] Both the Sarmatians and Parthians, who shared the technique of inset stone work, departed from the steppes of Turkestan and western Siberia for their respective invasions of South Russia and Iran towards the close of the fourth century. The Sarmatians would have taken the techniques of cloisonné and inset stone work to the west, while the Parthians would have further developed inset stone work on their jewellery in the Near East. The diffusion of Persian ornamental types is further illustrated by an earring and gold bracelet from Roman Egypt,[3] whose inset stone

[1] O.M. Dalton, "On some points in the History of Inlaid Jewellery", Archaeologia (1902), Vol. 58, pp. 237 ff.

[2] M.S. Dimand and H.E. MCAllister, Near Eastern Jewelry, Metropolitan Museum (1944), pl. 4-5.

[3] F. Metz, " Das Kunstgewerbe der römischen Kaiserzeit", H. Th. Bossert, Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes (1930), IV, p. 342, figs on pp. 343-344.

must have been the result of Parthian or Sassanian influence (pl. XXII d). Persian finds in Western Europe, such as the Wolfsheim buckle and the cup of Khosroes, must be regarded as exports to Europe. While these as well as the Egyptian finds show commercial as well as cultural relations, they cannot be used by themselves as evidence for the diffusion of technical elements. This diffusion can best be traced through the Eurasiatic steppe finds which form a continuous chronological and geographical series.

Sarmatian filigree occurs on the round and oval brooches of the Pontic steppe. Although it has affinities with the filigree used on Parthian brooches, such as the round brooch in the Morgan Collection, (pl. XXXIII b),[1] one hesitates to conclude that it spread westward with Iranian cloisonné and inset stone techniques, because of its absence in Siberia and Turkestan. One might more safely assume that the Parthian and Sarmatian filigree work had a common Greco-Hellenistic source in Iran and South Russia.

In the Mediterranean world, filigree (see Chart VII) and granulation had a long history, going back through Roman, Etruscan, and Greek art to Egyptian jewellery work.[2] The popular Mediterranean techniques of beading and granulation spread from the frontiers of the Roman Empire into Germany and Scandinavia before the beginning of the Migration age. This is well illustrat-

[1] Dimand and McAllister, pl. 5.

[2] Rosenberg, Granulation II.

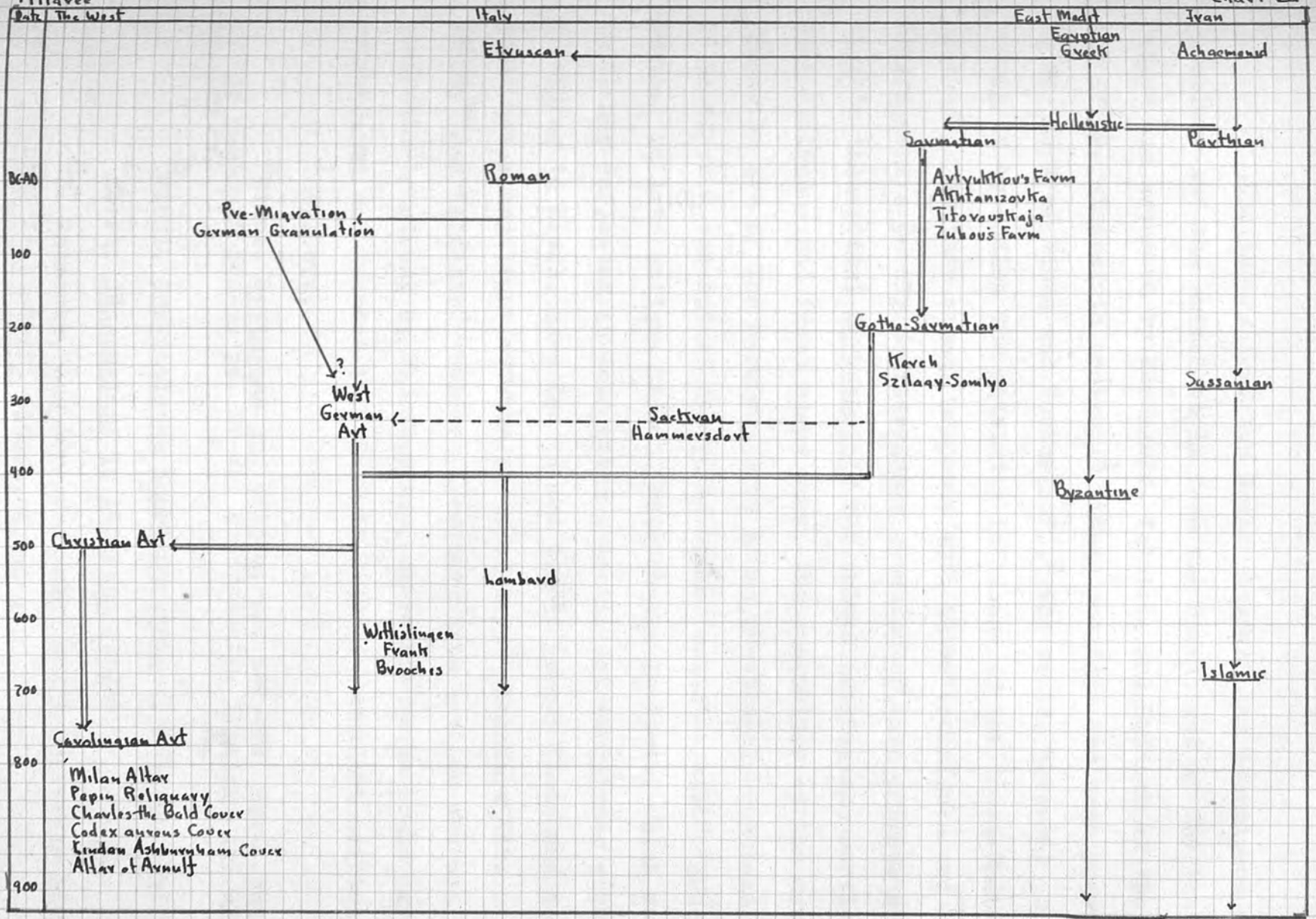
ed by whorl-like disk from Haeven in Mecklenburg and a Roman crossbow fibula from Arnswalde in Neumark.[1] Granulation can also be seen on jewellery contemporary with the Roman Imperial period from Norway and Sweden.[2] While some of these works are obviously German, such as the Haeven disk, others may well be Roman exports. Although the technique of granulation, executed through the application of granules or of strips of globules, or by punch work, was common among the pre-Migration Germans, there is little evidence for filigree. If Mediterranean influence had a role in the creation of German Migration filigree it must have been exercised through the medium of the Pontic Greek cities.

Rostovtzeff has shown that the Iranian techniques of inset stone work and cloisonné were used on jewellery made for the Sarmatians by the Greco-Pontic artisans. Sites like Panticapaeum show the interaction of Pontic Greek and Sarmatian culture. In the second and third centuries A.D., Sarmatian forms jewellery appear in increasing numbers in the Pontic sites. It differed in all essentials from the customary Hellenistic and Imperial work inspired from the late antique centers of the East Mediterranean.[3] In the Pontic cities, the steppe techniques of inset stone work and cloisonné were further elaborated and combined with filigree and granulation, which as we have seen, already had a long and logical history within the Mediterranean

[1] F. Behn, pl. 9. Schuchhardt, fig. 232.

[2] Shetelig, Préhistoire de la Norvège (1926), pp. 147 ff.

[3] Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks, pp. 182 ff,


Date
The West
Italy
East Medit
Iran
Egyptian
Greek
Etruscan
Achaemenid
Hellenistic
Sarmatian
Parthian
Roman
Avtyukhov's Farm
Akhtanizovka
Titovoustraja
Zubovs Farm
BC-AD
Pre-Migration
German Granulation
100
200
Gothe-Sarmatian
Kerch
Szilagy-Somlyo
?
West
German
Art
Sactivan
Hammersdorf
300
Sassanian
400
Byzantine
Christian Art
500
Lombard
Wittislingen
Frank
Brooches
600
Islamic
700
Carolingian Art
800
Milan Altar
Pepin Reliquary
Charles the Bald Cover
Codex aureus Cover
Lindau Ashburnham Cover
Altar of Arnulf
900

basin.

The theory that the Goths obtained the techniques of jewellery and the animal style from the Sarmatians of the Pontic steppe was advanced by Kondakoff, Tolstoi, and Reinach at the end of the nineteenth century.[1] Their position has been proven by the work of Minns and Rostovtzeff,[2] who would, however, modify it by adding the catalytic influence of the Greco-Pontic artisans. Another school proposes that these techniques and motifs were a purely Mediterranean creation of late antique art. Riegl's theory that Kerbschnitt, the animal motifs, and particularly cloisonné and inset stone work, the essentials of the early Migration art of the Germans, were Roman provincial creations, is based on a concept of change in Roman "artistic will" (Kunstwollen) in late antique times. This change in taste, which was certainly reflected in late antique mosaic and sculpture, would, according to Riegl, have led to the use of garnet cloisonné and other color and light effects in jewellery.[3] Scholars like Ebert,[4] and Reinecke[5] believe that this late antique art was particularly strong at Panticapaeum, where the Goths would have encountered and adapted it. Baldwin Brown's excellent criticism

[1] op. cit.

[2] Minns, Scythians and Greeks, pp. 280-282. Minns, Art of the Northern Nomad, pp. 28-29. Rostovtzeff, Iranians and Greeks pp. 181 ff.

[3] Riegl, Spätromische Kunstindustrie (1927), pp. 323 ff.

[4] Ebert, Südrussland im Altertum (1921).

[5] P. Reinecke, "Aus der russischen archäologischen literatur", Mainzer Zeitschrift (1906), I, p. 47.

points out that if one accepts Riegl's assumptions, one must postulate an artistic vacuum in central Europe, the steppe, and southwestern Asia, where the history of the tecnhiques and animal forms goes back to pre-classical times.[1] Although the style change in late antique art prepared the way for the acceptanee of Oriental and even some barbaric elements by the provincials, Riegl's theory is not valid for the explanation of the origins of Germanic art.[2]

The Iron Age art which the Goths had brought from the northwest was thus completely transformed not so much by Roman provincial art as by the impact of Greco-Sarmatian culture. In the third and fourth centuries the Goths must have employed Sarmatian and Greek artisans who rapidly modified the Germanic artistic forms. The Roman fibulae types brought in by the Goths were transformed into new and more ornate types. Cloisonné, inset stone work, and filigree appear on fibulae with semi-circular head and lozenge foot, which have been found at Kief, Tschernigow, Kerch (pl. XXXII d), Nikopol, and Suuk-Su.[3] The finds from Kerch,[4] which date to about A.D. 400, include a cloisonné buckle and strap ends (pl. XXVIII d), a cicada pin with inset stones, and

[1] Baldwin Brown, pp. 170 ff.

[2] Minns, Scythians and Greeks, pp. 280-282.

[3] Salin, Die altgermanische Thierornamentik (1904), fig. 18, 20. Schuchhardt, pp. 291 ff, figs 259-260, Baum, pl. XXII, 68.

[4] Schuchhardt, fig. 259.

a curious cloisonné quadruped. The complexity of the Gotho-Sarmatian culture is well illustrated by the treasure of Petrossa, which is dated to about A.D. 380. This find, which has been regarded as the loot of a Sarmatian, Thracian, or Gothic chief, includes a curious late antique bowl with relief figures, Greco-Sarmatian openwork metal baskets with leopard handles, and bird fibulae with cloisonné (pl. XXX a) and inset stone work (pl. XXIII b). The Petrossa plate and ewer have the heterogeneous Hellenistic style of the Pontic area.[1] The coalescence of these diverse elements lay at the core of the Gotho-Sarmatian art which prevailed on the Pontic steppe until the Hunnic invasion of A.D. 376.

The influence of Gotho-Sarmatian art was felt among the Germanic tribes to the west and north. It spread up the Danube valley through Hungary as far as Austria. While the early finds at Szilágy-Sómlyó in Hungary, which are dated by coins to about A.D. 350, may be products of trade or peaceful penetration to the west, the later finds at Szilágy-Sómlyó (A.D. 380-400) and at other Hungarian sites are the work of Goths and other Germans driven westward before the Hunnic advance. The early Szilágy-Sómlyó finds include Roman coin medallions with a circular border formed of triangular cells set with garnets (fig. 31)(pl.XXVIII a), and a lion fibula with obvious analogies in the finds from

[1] Baum, p. 84, pl. XIX 54, The fibulae with inset stones of the treasure of Petrossa are dated to the fourth century. Kühn, Vorgeschichtliche Kunst Deutschlands, ascribes this treasure to the Gothic King Athanarich, dating it to A.D. 380. See also; A. Odobesco, Le trésor de Petrossa (1889-1900)

Novocherkassk.[1] The later material from this site includes a fibula with a semi-circular cloisonné band on the head (pl. XXVIII b) and several zoomorphic fibulae with bands of rectilinear cloisonné. These fibulae are also ornamented with inset stones (pl. XXVIII a), and filigree.[2] There is also a round brooch with an elaborate cloisonné center, which leads logically to the circular brooch types of the Franks.[3] The wide distribution of cloisonné and inset stone work is further illustrated by the fibulae with inset stone work from Perjámos (pl. XXIII c)[4] and the cloisonné buckle(pl. XXVIII c) from Apahida (near Kolozsvar), which is dated to the mid-fifth century by some imported silver vases.[5] To the northwest, Gotho-Sarmatian influence spread to Sackrau in Silesia and Hassleben in Thuringia, both of which have finds dated by Roman provincial imports and coins to A.D. 300. At Sackrau, inset stone work (pl. XX b) occurs on a pendant, while filigree and granulation occur on fibulae (pl. XXXII c).[6] Related inset stone work can be seen on material from Hassleben[7]

[1]Picton, pl. III 4, Baum, pl. XIX 53.

[2]Kühn, op. cit. Rostovtzeff, pp. 187-8. Hampel, Alter-tümer des fruhen Mittelalters in Ungarn (1905), III, fig. 819.

[3]Baldwin Brown, pl. X 38.

[4]Baum, pl. XX 57.

[5]Riegl, fig. 96-98. Picton, pl. V 3.

[6]Schuchhardt, p. 293, fig. 261, F. Behn, pl. 17.

[7]F. Behn, pl. 21.

Fig. 31 The Szilágy-Sómlyó Medallion.

pl. XX d). Gotho-Sarmatian influence spread westward from these sites to Wolfsheim in the Rhineland, which yields neckrings and buckles of steppe type as well as the cloisonné pendant of the first Sassanian Emperor, Ardashir I (A.D. 266-241), which may have been the loot of a German soldier in the service of Rome.[1] Gotho-Sarmatian influence also spread northwards from Silesia and Saxony to Fünen and other places in Denmark. It is interesting to note that while the older Oder-Vistula plains culture of the Goths survived until the mid-sixth century along the coasts of East Prussia, a Gothic culture with obvious Steppe and later Gothic elements emerged in the Masurian lake country of East Prussia. The finds from Hammersdorf (A.D. 400) in East Prussia, which include a fibula with inset stone work and filigree (pl. XX c), illustrate the extent of Gotho-Sarmatian influence in the Masurian lake country.[2]

The Gothic peoples who moved into the Balkans, Italy, and Spain after the destruction of the Gotho-Sarmatian culture by the Huns introduced Steppe techniques into the art of the West Germans. While these elements could have reached the West Germans through the medium of trade during the fourth century, there is little evidence that they were absorbed in the West until the late fourth and early fifth centuries, after the movement of the Goths to the west. The absence of filigree and round brooches

[1] F. Behn, pl. 22.

[2] Kühn, Kunstgewerbes, pp. 74 ff, F. Behn, pl. 20.

in Visigothic Spain leads to the conclusion that the transfer was not due to the Visigoths. It is more likely that Steppe elements spread up the Danube to the Alemannic and other West German tribes from the Ostrogoths, while they were still in the Balkans under Hunnic rule. At this time the art of the Ostrogoths was being modified through contact with the culture of the provinces of the Danubian frontier. It was during this period that the Gothic fibulae acquired a new type of foot and an ornament consisting of Mediterranean tendril and meander motifs rendered in Kerbschnitt. Even more important was the appearance of circular brooches, such as the one at Szilágy-Sómlyó. These can be regarded either as a development of the oval Sarmatian brooch or as a new form inspired by the Mediterranean chlamys brooch. While the chlamys brooches are best known from sculpture (Palmyrene busts), mosaic (Ravenna mosaics), and ivory (Vienna Roma ivory) representations, round enamelled brooches derived from the chlamys brooch occasionally occur in late provincial finds, as is illustrated by the Roman enamelled brooch from Chester, which has a step pattern ornament, and by the Colchester enamel cloisonné roundel.[1] The round brooch form is probably another example of the ability of Germanic art to absorb artistic elements of cultures met with in the course of its migrations.

[1]Baldwin Brown, pp. 135 ff, pl. IX 33-35, X 38, T.D. Kendrick, pp. 61 ff, pl. XXXII 2, fig. 12 a. 13.

In the Balkans the Goths undoubtedly , as we have seen, took over techniques, motifs, and jewellery forms from the provincials, which further fertilized the complex Gotho-Sarmatian art. From the Balkans the complex of inset stone work, filigree, and cloisonne was diffused westward along the Danube to the Lombards, Alemanni, Burgundians, and Franks. This combination of techniques, which was rare in Roman imperial or provincial jewellery, was continually transformed to meet German needs. In the West after its absorption by the Western Germans it underwent further elaboration and was further transformed by elements derived from the older West German and Rhenish Roman provincial cultures. The barbaric craftsmen of the Merovingian West would upon their conversion to Christianity have become the monastic artisans who introduced these techniques into ecclesiastical metalwork. In turn the Merovingian artisans of the monastery would have further elaborated the techniques of cloisonné, inset stone work, and filigree, preserving them for use in Carolingian times, when they underwent a further development under the impact of the antique revival style

b. Kerbschnitt

The motifs derived from the Kerbschnitt technique, whose origin is generally recognized to be wood carving, played only a minor role in the ornament of the Carolingian period. Its influence may be seen in the gouged-out squares of the knob on the Kremsmünster chalice (pl. XXIV a), on the border of the

Enger reliquary (pl. XXIV b), and on the capitals from Chivy (pl. XL b-d).[1] It is also to be seen on the arch from the monastery of Pental, St. Samson de la Roque (pl. VI b)[2] and in the stucco ornament from Disentis (pl. XXXIX d).[3] While Kerbschnitt motifs are absent in Merovingian ecclesiastical metalwork and in later barbaric Migration ornament, the Carolingian Kerbschnitt motifs have prototypes in Roman provincial art and the earlier German Migration art. The geometric form of the motifs on Carolingian metalwork, capitals, arches, and stucco work cannot be compared with the scroll and meander motifs of Romano-German buckles and other artifacts which occur along the Roman Limes. Carolingian Kerbschnitt is entirely different in design from that of the Roman buckle from Cologne (pl. XLI d),[4] of the artifacts from the Gallo-Roman cemetery of Vermand, and of much of the late Frankish, Visigothic, and Ostrogothic work which exhibits scroll and meander designs. On the other hand the gouged-out squares and rectilinear motifs of Carolingian metalwork, stone, and stucco can be compared with similar motifs on Frankish fibulae, such as those from Marchelepot (Somme)(pl. VI d) and the Koblenz area (Rhineland)(pl. XXXIII c).[5] Further analogies to the

[1] Baum, pl. XLIII 126, pl. XXXVIII 118-119, Cabrol-LeClercq, France, col. 2311, fig. 4665.

[2] Coutil, fig. opp. p. 106.

[3] Stückelberg, op. cit.

[4] Metz, fig. on p. 342. Similar buckles include the Smithfield example (British Museum) see Baldwin Brown, pl. III 9.

[5] Coutil, fig. opp. p. 106. Picton, pl. XII 1.

rectilinear or geometric type of Kerbschnitt are provided by the Visigothic buckles of the Morgan collection (pl. XXXIII d),[1] the Burgundian buckle from Fétigny(Canton Friburg) (pl. XLI a),[2] the Alemannic wood carving from Oberflacht,[3] and the wood fragment with rectilinear carving from Nydam in Schleswig-Holstein.[4] These widely scattered examples from Frankish, Visigothic, Burgundian, Alemannic and North German context, which date from the fifth to sixth centuries, indicate the wide distribution of the geometric type of Kerbschnitt in wood or on metal among the Germans.

The motifs which we are concerned with in this series of German Migration finds and in Carolingian metalwork, stone, and stucco have been ascribed to both German and Roman provincial art. They cannot be derived from the fourth and fifth century legionary buckles, which Riegl ascribes to the spätrömische Kunstindustrie.[5] These buckles and their scroll and meander Kerbschnitt motifs,which occur not only in Belgica and the Rhineland but in Hungary, Italy, and Spain, were a general frontier phenomenon. Their ornament, which was cast in metal, includes spiral and meander motifs, indicating that the Roman provincials probably had a hand in the translation from wood to metal, and the finds

[1] Rorimer, pl. 9.

[2] Baum, pl. XXVIII 91, Baldwin Brown, pl. XXVI 102.

[3] Salin, fig. 400.

[4] Salin, fig. 399.

[5] Riegl, pp. 291 ff.

from Gallo-Roman Vermand indicate that the technique was used for purely provincial work. Nevertheless Scheltema is probably right in insisting that on the basis of the long history of wood carving among the Germans, some of it could have been a creation of Germans serving in the legions of Rome.[1] It must be regarded as one of those frontier fusion products in which both Germans and provincials made their respective contributions. This ornament, which was to form a dominant element in German Migration art from the mid-fifth to the mid-sixth century, cannot be regarded as a German national monopoly.[2] Although some scholars would seek its origin in the Asiatic Schrägschnitt which had wide currency in the arts of middle and Northern Eurasia,[3] it must be viewed as a product of wood carving in art, which was undoubtedly practiced by both provincials and Germans, as it has been by many other peoples of ancient, medieval, and modern times. Today for example wood carving is a significant element in the peasant arts of the Romance peoples, the Basques, Germans, Slavs, and Finns.[4]

Carolingian Kerbschnitt motifs, which cannot be derived from the curvilinear scroll and meander designs of the

[1] F. Adama van Scheltema, Die altnordische Kunst (1924), pp. 163 ff.

[2] Baum, pp. 30 ff.

[3] J. Strzygowski, Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung (1917) pp. 136 ff, pp. 273 ff.

[4] Arthur Haberlandt, "Die volkstümliche Kultur Europas und ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung" in G. Buschan, Illustrierte Völkerkunde (1926), III, pp. 485 ff.

Romano-German buckles, may thus only reflect contemporary wood carving motifs common throughout the Carolingian realm. Aside from the absence of spiral and meander Kerbschnitt motifs in the ninth century work in metal, stone, and stucco, there is insufficient evidence for a connection between Carolingian designs and those of rectilinear type which occur in the earlier Migration art of the Franks, Burgundians, Visigoths, Alemanni, and North Germans. The transfer of wood carving motifs into other media is a recurring phenomenon and must be offered in explanation of the Carolingian work.

Continental Motifs

There are few ornamental motifs in the art of Carolingian times which can be traced to continental barbaric sources. Leaving aside for later consideration the interlace and zoomorphic forms with Island affinities, one is left with the cloisonné zoomorphs of the Enger reliquary (pl. LXXXVII a-b) and the enamel cloisonne animals of the older Lindau Gospel cover (pl. LXXXVIII a-d).[1] The S-shaped zoomorphs (pl. LXXXVII a) and the bird motif (pl. LXXXVII b) of the Enger reliquary can be explained on the basis of continental analogies. The bird form was common throughout the Migration period. It was used for Frankish brooches, such as those in the Morgan collection (pl. XCVI c)[2] and it occurs in the more elaborate bird or eagle brooches found in Visigothic

[1] Rosenberg, Zellenschmelz, pp. 73 ff. fig. 118-119.

[2] Rorimer, pl. 13.

Spain and Ostrogothic Italy(pl. XCVI d).[1] The S-shaped zoomorph also occurs in Frankish finds, such as in that from Nettersheim-in-der-Eifel (pl. XCV a).[2] It can also be found in Lombard Italy, where examples occur in the province of Udine,[3] and in Scandinavia, in the Öland area.[4] The widespread distribution of these two motifs among all the German tribes, and particularly their occurrance among the Visigoths and Ostrogoths, points to a steppe origin. They go back to the Gotho-Sarmatian culture of the Balkans and Pontic steppe, where many of the animal motifs of the early Migration age have a long history of development, but their ultimate origin is to be sought in the art of the Northern nomads and the ancient Near East. Some animal motifs may even come from the Sino-Siberian area. Kühn points out the Siberian and Chinese affinities of the cicada, steer head, and bird head motifs of German and Sarmatian art by showing their popularity in Ts'in and Han art and their distribution across the Eurasiatic steppe.[5] While it is often difficult to determine the ultimate source of particular Germanic animal motifs, Minns may well be right in loosely ascribing them to the art of the steppe, and accounting for the similarity of animal motifs in Germanic and Chinese art by a common steppe influence.[6] Whatever may be the

[1] F. Behn, pl.12. F.H. Taylor and P.B. Gott, The Dark Ages (1937), fig. 89-90 shows examples of Walters and Bliss collections.

[2] Kühn, Kunstgewerbe, I, pl. VI,2.

[3] Salin, fig. 184.

[4] Salin, fig. 190.

ultimate origin of the steppe animal motifs, they were increasingly stylized by the Sarmatians into forms which were acceptable to the Germans. Once assimilated by the Goths they were carried westward into Spain and Italy by the Visigoths and Ostrogoths and diffused westward to the Germans of western Germany and eastern France. The two Carolingian animal motifs may be considered the last echoes of a barbaric style which had been dominant among the Franks and Alemanni in the late fifth and early sixth centuries.

The quadrupeds with or without turned back heads of the older Lindau Gospel cover (pl. LXXXVIII a,b,d) retain an organic form. They may be best compared with the griffin fibula of Lens and those of the Berlin and Morgan collections (pl. XCVI a).[1] A more exact analogy is provided by the Lombard animal plaque from Arcisa near Chiusi in Italy (pl. XCVI b).[2] Other comparative material is furnished by the non-Germanic Aquitaine belt buckles.[3] This animal type must represent a late borrowing from the Mediterranean and the East, because the griffin and related animal motifs are absent in earlier Anglo-Saxon, Visigothic,

[5] Kühn, Vorgeschichtliche Kunst Deutschlands, pp. 163 ff. B. Behn, "Der Ursprung der germanischen Tierornamentik", in Strzygowski, Der Norden in der bildenden Kunst Westeuropas (1926) pp. 37 ff.

[6] Minns, The Art of the Northern Nomad, pp. 35-37.

[1] Kühn, Kunstgewerbe, I, pl. VI 3. Baum, pl. XXX 101, Rorimer, pl. 12.

[2] Åberg, Lombard Italy, fig. 82 2.

[3] Åberg, The Merovingian Empire, fig. 21.

Ostrogothic, Frankish, Alemannic, and Scandinavian finds. This animal form represents an ornamental adaptation of an Oriental monster type which spread through the West in the seventh century. The influence of the art of the East Mediterranean world is also shown by the enamel cloisonné duck from the older Lindau Gospel cover (pl. LXXXVIII c), whose best analogies is the duck on the Byzantine enamel cloisonné plaque from the seventh century grave finds of Duke Gisulf at Cividale.[1] The enamel cloisonné animals of the older Lindau Gospel cover, which were rendered in a medium common in Byzantine art, would represent western transformations of Oriental or East Christian motifs coming through Lombard Italy from the East Mediterranean, while the cloisonné zoomorphs of the Enger reliquary would be the only survivals of the continental barbaric zoomorphic style which had died out in the seventh century.

Carolingian Style

The total number of German barbaric elements which survived in objective techniques and motifs is very limited. While the motifs of German barbaric art withered and died, the artistic preference of the Germans for an abstract non-representational style continued to determine the course of the development of their art. This aesthetic taste, which they shared with the forest and steppe peoples of Middle and Northern Eurasia, can be seen in the early Carolingian manuscripts and metalwork. Even

[1] Haupt, pl. IV. Rosenberg, fig. 17.

though the Northern motifs were swept away, the indigenous spirit survived in the rendering of the antique and Mediterranean borrowings. Not only did the Germans of Carolingian times transform the Mediterranean elements, but they modified their own Northern ornamental inheritance to make it fit into the new artistic structure. The Northern love of linear effects, over-elaboration, and splendour of material not only survived in force, but transmuted the Carolingian revival elements.

This transformation led to the creation of the Carolingian style of the Germanic portion of the Empire. Once the illuminator, ivory carver, and metalworker comprehended the art of the Mediterranean Christian world, they changed it to meet their conceptual and essentially ornamental taste. This can be seen in the over-elaboration of ornament, the insistence upon linear as opposed to solid classical modelling, the use of pattern effects of rhythm and texture for composition, and the treatment of space as a medium for design and ornament. All this is present in the later Carolingian manuscripts of the schools of St. Gall, Corbie, and the Franco-Saxon area. They contrast markedly with the balanced and restrained work of the schools of Reims, Metz, and Tours, which grew up in the lands outside effedtive German settlement. The contrast between the German and Romance portions of the Carolingian realm was rooted in the differing artistic approaches of its peoples.

The difference between the ornamental approach of the Germans and the realistic point of view of the Romance peoples

can be traced back to the fundamental differences between Northern and Mediterranean culture. Strzygowski sought to explain this cleavage by the essential differences between non-representational and representational art. Representational art, which was dominant among the urban peoples of the Near East and the Mediterranean world, was concerned with the reproduction of nature and the rendering of human form, while non-representational art, which was favoured by the nomads of the desert and steppe and the forest peoples of northern Eurasia, evolved out of handicrafts. Its objective was the ornamentation of surfaces with abstract decorative designs. The ultimate basis for the cleavage between Mediterranean and Northern art rests upon fundamental social, economic, and religious, i.e. cultural differences.[1]

The ultimate nature of German artistic style can hardly be explained in terms of Worringer's concept that the stylistic elements of line and movement which are shared by continental and north German barbaric art and later by Romanesque and Gothic art are due to the instinctive expression of a particular racial stock, the Nordic stock.[2] While race, language, and culture may have been identical in early prehistoric times, by the early medieval period the races of Europe were so throughly intermixed that it becomes almost impossible to use race in a biological

[1] J.Strzygowski, Origins of Christian Church Art, pp. 102-105. See also Johannes Schwieger, "Der Begriff Norden", in Strzygowski, Der Norden in der bildenden Kunst Westeuropas (1926), pp. 271 ff.

[2] Wilhelm Worringer, Form in Gothic (1927), pp. 38 fg.

sense as a principle in the interpretation of cultural development. The distinction between the arts of various groups of peoples within historic times rests upon differences in culture. Art, like language, must be regarded as a manifestation of culture: an acquired trait, not an inherited biological trait. Cultural differences are deep-rooted and must be explained in terms of the historical experiences of a society which are constantly altering and transforming its inheritance. Artistically these experiences involve the copying and assimilation of borrowed elements and the invention of new traits through the transmutation of inherited or borrowed forms, motifs, and techniques. Art, like the culture of which it is a material and spiritual manifestation, is a dynamic and ever-changing growth.

The Carolingian style of the German area of Charlemagne's realm was the product of a surviving barbaric taste. Although the frankly barbaric art of the continental Germans was overwhelmed by the art of the Church, nevertheless, German taste survived as a dominant artistic factor. The sources of this taste were cultural not racial. The West German style, like all Northern barbaric styles, had been based upon the ornamentation of artifacts, with jewellery, weapons, and other equipment providing the only artistic media for aesthetic expression. The artistic problem of the barbarians had been the decoration of surfaces, not the representation of nature and the human form.

Stone sculpture and architecture would be impracticable for nomad peoples. Barbaric society lacked the social, economic, and religious development necessary for a humanistic point of view which would have demanded a representational art.

The Germans shared with all other Northern peoples, Kelts, Slavs, Finns, and Steppe nomads, the same ornamental non-representational art. The similarity between their arts was due to a common way of life. The variations between them were the result of differing external stimuli modifying and shaping artistic and cultural development. These variations, which sprang from varying historical experiences, alien influences, and contacts made through trade, migration, or conquest, as well as different environments, not only affected larger groups sharing a common language, but must have reached down to the smaller tribal and village groups, if one can judge from the characteristics of modern peasant cultures. Nevertheless despite these regional variations there was an essentially similar style among all Northern peoples due to a common interest in the decoration of artifacts. The tendency toward great elaboration, for example, is not necessarily restricted to the Germans, for it can be seen in more exaggerated forms among the Christianized Kelts and Steppe nomads such as the Avars and the later Saljuks. The love of intricacy of ornament is apparent in the arts of all barbaric and semi-civilized peoples of the Old and New Worlds.[1]

[1] Scheltema, pp. 166 ff, chart on p. 222 has developed an elaborate theory for the explanation of the development of German ornament. It is based upon the concept of the struggle

The particular style of barbaric art which the Germans possessed before their conversion to Christianity must be regarded as a variation of Northern art, which had grown up under the influence of Hallstatt, La Tene, Roman provincial, Greco-Pontic, and Steppe cultures. German art upon the Christianization of its of its creators and their conversion to a Mediterranean way of life gradually lost its barbaric basis. With the end of pagan German culture and the substitution of Mediterranean Christian values, the motifs symbolic of the old barbaric culture vanished. While the flood of Mediterranean art brought by the Church and above all by the antique revival of Charlemagne's court put a definitive end to the motifs and forms of barbaric German art, it was not able to drown skills, techniques, or the taste of the new converts. Although their taste was ever changing to meet new needs, it lived on to give the art of the German portion of the Carolingian realm its distinctive flavour not only in Carolingian times but in the later Ottonian and Romanesque periods. While the fusion of Mediterranean elements with German taste was most complete in the art of the Church and Court, peasant art must long have preserved elements of the older barbaric style.

of tectonic functional ornament with organic decorative ornament. In a sense it is an application of Wollflin's theory of the classical and Baroque. See, Hinks, pp. 72 ff, rightly points out Scheltema's failure to account for the Germanic preference for a Baroque form of Art.

CHAPTER IV

ISLAND INFLUENCES IN CAROLINGIAN ART

The early Carolingian metalwork and manuscripts show very strongly the influence of Hiberno-Saxon art which is manifest in interlace and zoomorphic ornament, in the composition of initial and cruciform pages, and in the rendering of the human figure. These Island elements appear, however, largely in the German portion of the empire of Charlemagne, and exercise only a superficial influence in the Romance areas. They appear in the first Carolingian manuscripts of schools such as Trier-Echternach, Salzburg, St. Gall, and presumably Fulda, and in late eighth century metalwork such as the Kremsmünster chalice, the Enger reliquary, and the older Lindau Gospel cover. Island influence may occasionally be seen in the early ivories such as the Geneols-Elderen diptych. Island elements current in the Rhineland in the late eighth century also played their part in the evolution of the Ada-Godescalc manuscript style. It will be recalled that with the beginning of the ninth century the antique revival style of the court of Charlemagne spread through the Empire, displacing the older ornamental styles of Trier-Echternach, Salzburg, Fulda, and St. Gall, and transforming the Ada style. The revival style was carried westward to Tours along with a limited number of Island elements. It put an end to the Merovingian style at Corbie, where Island elements had been implanted in the late eighth century, while it inspired new efforts at Metz and Reims. Only the Franco-Saxon school

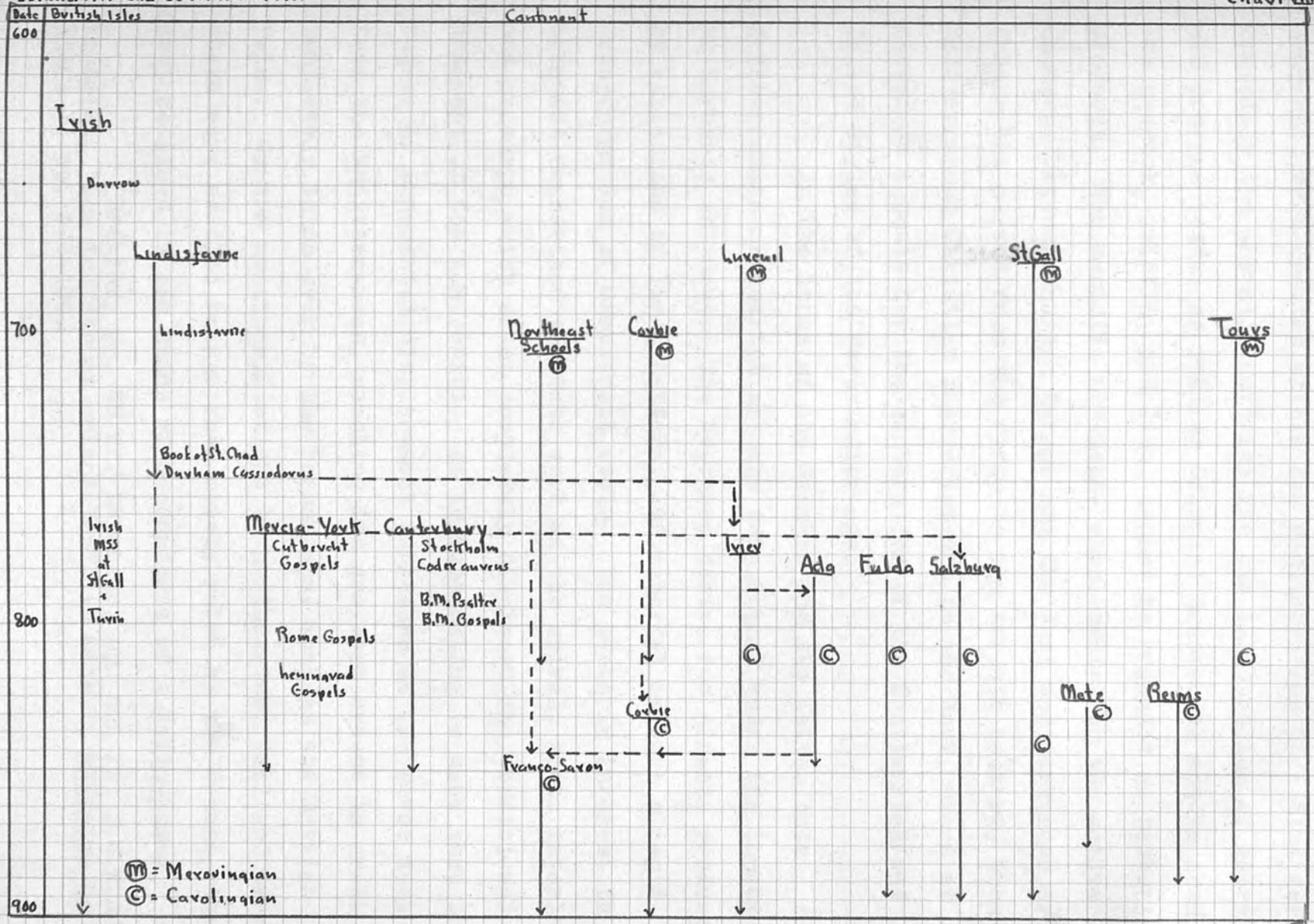
clung to the Northern abstract style of ornament. While the schools of the Romance area, Reims, Metz, and Tours, developed the new style with balance and restraint, those in the German area, Corbie, St. Gall, and the minor German schools, transformed the Mediterranean elements to suit their essentially ornamental taste.

It is important to understand the status of the Merovingian manuscript schools of Luxeuil, Corbie, Fleury, and Northeast France since they lay in lands which were to be the home of the Carolingian renaissance. These schools, together with those of Trier-Echternach, Salzburg, and Fulda, which were founded in German lands by Island missionary monks, provided the continental artistic foundations for Carolingian manuscript art (see Chart VIII). The manuscripts of Western Europe in the Merovingian age, which have been so ably studied by Zimmermann,[1] were produced by monks living in the lands ruled by the Lombards, Visigoths, Franks, Anglo-Saxons, and Irish. Although the culture of these barbaric peoples influenced and even transformed the art of the manuscript, the characteristic features of the Merovingian manuscript have their origin in the Mediterranean area. Manuscripts such as the Vienna Genesis, the Vatican Virgil, and the Gospels of Rossano, Sinope, and Rabula, of Latin, Byzantine, or Syrian origin, show that the codex with its title page, miniatures, and tables of concordance, as well as its stylized

[1] Vorkarolingische Miniaturen.

Island Art and Continental Art

Chart VIII



ornament, were created within the Mediterranean Christian world. Certainly the thematic material for the illustration of sacred and profane texts, as well as Oriental ornamental motifs such as the peacock, griffin, and lion, cannot be regarded as barbaric products. The monastic movement, supplemented by the active commerce between Western Europe and the East Mediterranean area during the period from the fifth to the seventh century, brought Mediterranean Christian manuscript art to the West, where it served as a basis for the elaboration of the Continental and Island styles of the Merovingian age.[1]

In the lands of the Germans and the Kelts, this Mediterranean manuscript art was transformed under the impact of barbaric cultures. The Northern desire for effects produced by variations of line, pattern, and material brought a rapid transformation of manuscript style. The barbaric interest in ornament emphasized elements such as the spiral, knot, interlace, and zoomorph which often completely displaced the traditional ornament of the manuscript. It is interesting to note that the degree of ornamental displacement increases as one moves away from the Mediterranean, reaching its greatest extent in areas completely taken over by the barbarians, such as the British Isles. On the continent, except in northeastern Gaul and Germany, which were settled rather than merely ruled by the Franks, the arts remained in the hands of descendants of a Gallo-Roman

[1] Bréhier, pp. 65 ff. Leprieur, pp. 305 ff. J.J.M.de Vasselot, "Les influences orientales", in Michel, Histoire de l'art, I, pp. 396-400.

population. Although the rulers, Franks, Burgundians, and Lombards, were Germans, the Church leadership was often provided by leading Gallo-Roman or Italo-Roman families.[1] While the Kelts turned to calligraphic fancies and the Germans disembodied human and animal forms to use the heads, legs, arms, and bodies as ornamental devices, the continental Gallo-Roman peoples kept to a realistic treatment of floral and faunal elements. Although the continental manuscripts of the Merovingian age were frequently crude, the antique scroll work, palmette, and lead motifs as well as the peacock, griffin, and other faunal motifs were rendered with realism. The Mediterranean faunal and floral elements, which were at first rejected by the art of the Germans and Kelts continued in continental illumination of Merovingian manuscripts and survived into the Carolingian renaissance. The essential realism of the continental schools, which were to a large extent in the hands of the older and now conquered population, is further illustrated by the common use of realistic fish and bird forms for the rendering of the alphabet. This alphabetic system, which bespeaks the realism of the provincial, was characteristic only of continental manuscripts. It does not appear in Island or full Carolingian illumination.[2] Interlace in Merovingian

[1] S. Dill, Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age (1926), pp. 114 ff.

[2] Zimmermann, pp 4 ff points out that while the fish and bird lettering has been explained by Riegl in terms of a Mediterranean source, such as the lettering of the Vatican Virgil, which would have inspired both Byzantine and Merovingian usage, the Western bird and fish lettering has an essentially western

manuscripts, which is absent in some schools and plays only a minor role in others, is largely restricted to two strand twists or three strand plaits in the manuscripts dating before the mid-eighth century. Around 750 this simple twist, which only occasionally had risen to the complexity of three strand plait, was replaced first by new Mediterranean interlacing designs and then by interlace with an Island source.[1]

One must not conclude that all continental illumination escaped the effects of barbaric occupation. Certainly the regional differences which set apart the continental schools, and the increasing barbaric transformation of ornament which is encountered as one moved from Lombard Italy across Gaul to Britain were due to barbaric Keltic or Germanic influences. Italian manuscripts of the Lombard period, which are difficult to study because of the lack of consecutive series of manuscripts, were characterized by the retension of Mediterranean floral elements, rosettes and heart-shaped palmettes, and simple bird and fish lettering. While the simple cloisonné-like pattern work, which is found in some Italian manuscripts may be due to

character. This is indicated by its heraldic and ornamental character, which sets it apart from the standardized Byzantine and Armenian bird and fish lettering. While it is impossible to trace its origin because of its rareness in the West before the mid-seventh century, it is safe to conclude that it was inspired by a Mediterranean model and elaborated in the West under the influence of the minor arts. For Strzygowski's theory see Der Dom zu Aachen, pp. 53 ff.

[1] Zimmermann, pp. 12 ff.

Germanic influences brought in by the Lombards, the simple two-strand twist, which is restricted to the bodies of initials in manuscripts before the mid-eighth century, must be regarded as a simplification of elements borrowed from local provincial sources or Lombard stone work. After A.D. 750 more complicated triple-strand interlace, plait, appears in manuscripts produced at Verona. It is still simple in form and restricted to the body of the initial. It can hardly be used as evidence for Island influence since it lacks the form and structure of interlace used in the British Isles. Zimmermann[1] ascribes the interlace of the later Italian manuscripts such as those of Verona and the Karlsruhe Codex of Rome to continental rather than Island sources.[2]

In Spain and southern France, manuscripts such as the Ashburnham Pentateuch and the Gellone Sacramentary, with its

[1] Zimmermann, pp 12 ff. and Masai, F. Essai sur les origines de la miniature dite irlandaise (1947), note 124, point out the essential difference between Island and continental interlace. Island influence, which is assumed by some scholars on the basis of interlace and knotwork and the presence of Island manuscripts in some old Italian collections, had little if any effect on local Italian schools and their manuscripts. For the theory of Irish influence see Françoise Henry, Irish Art (1940), pp. 126-128. G.L. Micheli, L'enluminure du haut moyen age et les influences irlandaises (1939), pp. 37 ff.

[2] For Italian manuscripts see Zimmermann, pp. 38 ff. Among these the Verona Sulpicius Servus MS(Zimmermann, pl. 1b), the Basilii homiliae MS(Zimmermann,pl.3a), and the Bobbio Vitae patrum MS(Zimmermann, pl. 18) illustrate the Mediterranean floral elements, while the Northeast Italian Valerianus Gospels(Zimmermann, pl. 5-9) have cloisonné-like elements. Although simple twist work occurs in the Middle Italian Pauli epistolae(Zimmermann,pl.32) more complex plait work is limited to late Italian manuscripts, such as the Verona Hieronymus MS(Zimmermann, pl. 34 c-d), which is dated to the late eighth century.

interesting bird and animal motifs (figs 32,33), are based on Byzantine, Syriac, and Coptic manuscript models. The Gellone Sacramentary, which is dated to 780, has interlace, possibly due to Island influence. The school of Lyon which grew up under strong Italian influence, has a greater refinement of rendering and uses antique floral and scroll motifs. These manuscripts, like those of Lombard Italy, escaped the Island influences. It is interesting that the manuscript style of Italy and southern France lived on unaffected by the Carolingian renaissance until the eve of the Romanesque period.[1]

The continental style, which was characteristic of Italy, southern France, and Lyons, also prevailed in the Merovingian schools of Luxeuil, Corbie, Fleury, and Northeast France, which grew up in the Romance and western German portions of what was to for the core of the Carolingian empire. Although the school of Luxeuil was founded by the Irish Saint Columba in the sixth century, its style was characteristically continental. This is manifest in the use of ornate bird and fish lettering, which becomes increasingly plastic, and elaborate floral devices in manuscripts such as the Paris Augusti homiliae, the Paris Lectionary (fig. 34), the Rome Missale Gothicum, and the Wolfenbüttel Augusti homiliae.[2] The architectural arcades of the last manuscript and the Würzburg Burchardi Gospels[3] foreshadow

[1]Zimmermann, pl. 38-43.

[2]Zimmermann, pl. 44, 52, 45-47, 56-62.

[3]Zimmermann, pl. 71-72.

Fig. 32 Initial from the Gellone Sacramentary

Fig. 33 Initial from the Gellone Sacramentary.

Carolingian usage. Interlacing motifs are limited to simple twists which occur in the Ivrea Gregorii regula MS, thenBritish Museum Gregorii MS, and the Petersburg Gregorius in Ezechiel MS.[1] There is nothing in the Luxeuil manuscripts that can be ascribed to Island influence.

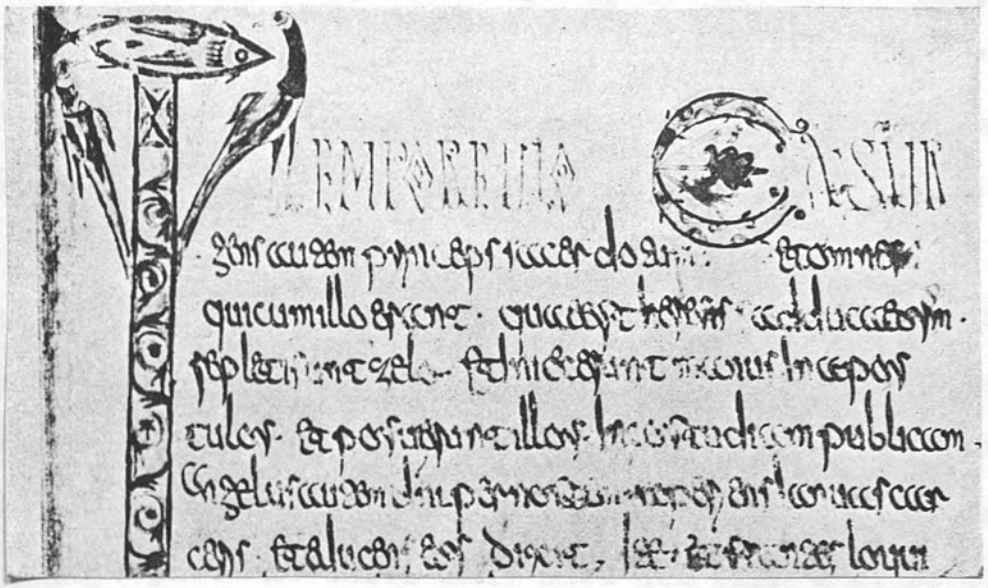
At Corbie, a monastery founded by Queen Bathilda in the mid-seventh century, manuscript illuminations were produced characterized by a more compact and painterly bird and fish lattering than that which prevailed at Luxeuil. These elements, along with obviously cloisonné-like pattern work, were characteristic of the early eighth century works such as the Petersburg Regula S. Basilii MS, and the Petersburg Hieronimi epistolae MS.[2] Interlace, which was absent in the earliest manuscripts, played a minor role until the middle of the eighth century, when manuscripts such as the Paris Augustini MS (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat 12190)[3] exhibits a circular type of interlace ornament. This interlace work, which was based on interlocking circular patterns, cannot be paralleled in Island manuscripts. Their logical prototypes are East Mediterranean, occuring in Coptic manuscripts such as those in the Vatican (MSS. 66, 59, 16) and in Coptic frescoes, such as those of Bawit.[4] Later

[1] Zimmermann, pl. 48-49, 50, 57b, 62-67.

[2] Zimmermann, pl. 86, 88

[3] Zimmermann, pl. 112-113.

[4] Nils Åberg, The British Isles, The Occident and the Orient in the Art of the Seventh Century, Part I, Kungl.Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Handlingar, Del,56:1 (1943),figs,70,71,80. Masai, pl. LVII 1-2.



Fig, 34 Initial from the Paris Lectionary.

manuscripts, however, from the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century, have a profusion of interlacing ornament extending even to initial terminals, which appear for the first time in continental art. This new type of interlacing ornament, which occurs in the Hieronymus MS of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, must be due to Island influence.[1]

On the other hand, simple continental interlace may be seen in mid-eighth century manuscripts of the school of Fleury and the monasteries of northeastern France.[2] Interlace of the Bodelian Augustini epistolae MS of the latter group exhibits interlace patterns which must have the same East Mediterranean source as those of the Augustini MS of the school of Corbie.[3]

These continental manuscripts indicate that the Island styles which were supposedly spread by the Irish monks during the seventh and eighth centuries did not greatly affect, much less destroy, the continental art of illumination, whose roots must go back to the beginnings of Christianity in the West. While the Merovingian scribes may have taken over some barbaric elements, they maintained a sense of realism in the treatment of floral and faunal forms, preserved the late antique scroll and floral motifs,

[1] Zimmermann, pl. 106-108.

[2] Zimmermann, pp. 58 ff, 78 ff, and pl. 78-84, 127-130, 138-141 for the Autum Gospels of the School of Fleury (Autum, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 3) and the Hist.Franc. Gregorii MS. (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 17654) and the Oxford Bodelian Augustini epistolae of the Northeast French school.

[3] Compare Zimmermann, pl. 112a-113 with pl. 138-141.

and continued to utilize imported or inherited Byzantine and Oriental models and decorative devices, all of which was important for the Carolingian renaissance.[1]

The missionary activity of Irish monks, who supposedly established the monasteries of Luxeuil, Jumiegès, St. Vandrille, Solignac, and Corbie in France, Stavelot and Malmedy in the Low Countries, St. Gall and Disentis in Switzerland, and Bobbio in Italy is often credited with the introduction of Island elements into continental manuscript illumination.[2] A more vital role from the point of view of the history of art was played by the Anglo-Saxon monks who spread to the continent a century later under the leadership of St. Boniface. The appearance of Island influences in the manuscript ornament of the late eighth century manuscripts of Corbie amd the Gellone Sacramentary dates long after the first missions of the Irish monks. It is more probable that they were brought by Anglo-Saxon pilgrims going to Rome and the Anglo-Saxon missionaries who moved through northeast France into Germany, where under the leadership of St. Boniface they brought the final conversion of Hesse and Thuringia. Abbeys

[1] Bréhier, pp. 65 ff.

[2] Henry, p. 127 points out how Irish monasteries founded on the continent maintained relations with Ireland. Irish monks passing back and forth between Ireland and the continent are supposed to have brought manuscripts such as the fragments at St. Gall (Codex 51 and the Priscian Grammar), at Reichenau, Leyden, Cologne, and Bobbio) and these would have been imitated by local scribes. Despite these works, little true Irish artistic influence can be detected in the local Merovingian schools.

[3] Zimmermann, p. 36.

were established at Trier-Echternach and Fulda and Anglo-Saxon monks found their way to Salzburg. Others may have lingered on the way in Northeast France. The importance of Anglo-Saxon influence on the continent in late Merovingian times is indicated by the fact that Boniface was made not only Papal vicar to Germany, but leader of the Church Councils of 742 and 747. These coulcils restored order within the Frankish church and renewed its ties with Rome after the disruption of ecclesiastical organization which had occurred under Charles Martel. The very manner in which Boniface and the Anglo-Saxons worked with Rome to save Roman Christianity foreshadows the synthesis of Northern and Mediterranean cultures which was to be consummated in the Carolingian age.[1]

On the eve of the Carolingian renaissance, Island influence was making itself felt in the older Merovingian scriptoria of northern and eastern France and in the monasteries to the east among the Germans, such as Fulda, Trier-Echternach, and Salzburg. These were to provide the channels by which Island elements brought by Anglo-Saxon missionaries and monks were to filter into Carolingian art.

Island Artistic Sources

The movement of Island monks from the British Isles to the continent brought an art which can only be understood against the background of the development of manuscript illumina-

[1]C. Dawson, The Making of Europe (1932), pp. 200 ff, 210 ff.

tion in Northumbria, Mercia, and at Canterbury during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. Without going into the development of pagan Anglo-Saxon art and culture, although it will be necessary to consider certain aspects of this art in relation to the sources of Island manuscript art, one may begin with the Christian art of the British Isles. In the mid-seventh century it was strongly affected by a wave of Mediterranean elements resulting from the influx of refugees driven from the East by the Moslem conquests. Between 685 and 752 Greek and Syrian churchmen were strong enough to control the Papacy amd it goes without saying that their influence was dominant throughout the West. In the British Isles the spread of Oriental and Mediterranean influences was marked by the arrival of the Greco-Syrian Theodore and the African abbot Hadrian in the south, and by the efforts of Benedict Biscop and Wilfred in the north. They arrived in the British Isles at a time when Northumbria was politically dominant.

The art of Northumbria can only be understood in terms of the interrelations of the Keltic monastic movement and the Roman Benedictine mission. Although the north had been converted to Roman Christianity by Paulinus in A.D. 627, the defeat of Paulinus' supporter and convert, King Edwin, by the pagan Penda and the Welsh Cadwallon brought a resurgence of paganism. Christianity was reestablished under King Oswald by St. Aidan and the Keltic missionaries from Iona who established themselves

at Lindisfarne in A.D. 634. From Iona, which had been established by St. Columba in A.D. 563 in the course of his missions to the Picts and British, one can trace Keltic monasticism back to the beginnings of Christianity in Ireland. The conversion of Ireland was in turn the result of the missions of the fifth century church of Wales and Gaul, beginning with the mission of the British St. Patrick in A.D. 432. The linkage between Ireland and Britain running through the monasteries of Lindisfarne and Iona provided the major channel by which Irish elements filtered into the art of Britain, although Irish centers established at Glastonbury and Malmesbury must have made their own contributions in the south.[1]

The Book of Durrow (Dublin, Trinity College, MS 57),[2] which is the first manuscript in the Irish or Keltic style, has been attributed to both Ireland and Northumbria.[3] Wherever its

[1] Dawson, pp. 206 ff. A.W. Clapham, English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest (1930), pp. 58 ff.

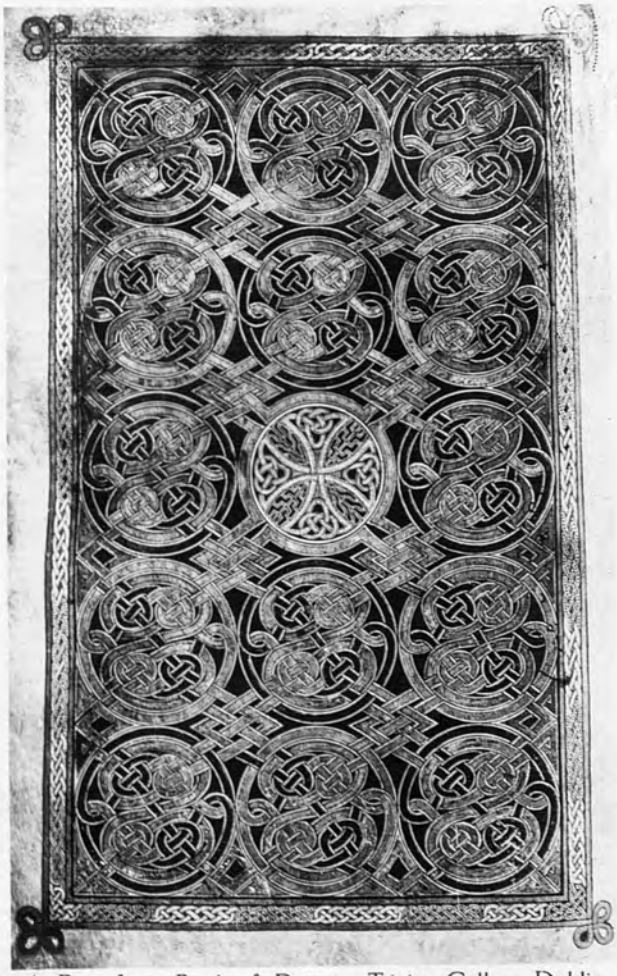
[2] Zimmermann, pp. 231 ff, pl. 160-165.

[3] This is not the place to settle the problem of the home of the Book of Durrow. Kendrick, pp. 104-5 believes that the Book of Durrow was the product of an Irish illuminator acquainted with the basic Mediterranean manuscript conventions and dependent upon Island artistic motifs. It was a product of "the art of the British Church, introduced into Ireland by the way of the Dee or Bristol channel at the time of the flight west before the advancing Saxons. At the time of St. Aidans mission to Lindisfarne, this Irish decorative system must have been in existence as the established method of illumination of the Columban church". Henry pp. 60 ff, states that despite E.A. Lowe's (Codices Latini Antiquiores, A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts prior to the Ninth Century, Part II: Great Britain and Ireland (1928), pp. XII ff.) assignment of the manuscript to Northumbria on the basis of palaeography, the illumination was

home, the Durrow style reached Northumbria and provided the basis for the Lindisfarne Gospels. The beginnings of the Durrow style, which would give a clue to the ultimate origins of much of the Lindisfarne-Echternach style, are difficult to trace. While the ornament has many analogies and sources in the British Isles, the composition of the ornamental pages has logical affinities with Syriac and Coptic manuscripts. There are no continental, Italian, or Byzantine prototypes. Syriac manuscripts, such as the Rabula Gospels, make use of arcades, interlace, frames, dotted lines and letters, and trefoil corner knots, while Coptic manuscripts, to judge from a sixth century book cover and later eighth or ninth century manuscripts which must preserve archaic features, have animal symbols of the Evangelists and interlace ornaments. All these features could have served as models for the Island scribes.. It is interesting to note that the Durrow colour scheme of red, green, and yellow is a common feature of Srriac and Coptic manuscripts.[1] The Oriental manuscripts which

done in Ireland, although the text may be the work of a travelling monk from Lindisfarne or the result of diffusion via Iona. Masai, pp. 95 ff, p. 126, would make Durrow, along with Lindisfarne and Kells, Northumbrian manuscripts. The text and manuscript conventions would have come from Italy via Jarrow-Wearmouth, while the ornament would represent a transposition of the indigenous art of Northumbria. A.W. Clapham, "Note on the Origins of Hiberno-Saxon Art", Antiquity (1934), VIII, pp. 43 ff, adduces its Northumbrian origin on the basis of the absence of an Irish Christian art before the close of the seventh century. Irish monks returning to Ireland from Northumbria would have brought back a developed manuscript art evolved in North England.

[1]Henry, pp. 64 ff.



A Page from Book of Durrow. Trinity College Dublin.

Fig. 35 Page from the Book of Durrow.

were brought to the West by the movement of monks and pilgrims would have provided the models for the Island manuscript art. Their style was, however, rapidly transformed to suit the traditional abstract ornamental taste of the Island monks. The Oriental ornamental page may well have been transmuted under the impact of designs derived from late Roman pavements, such as those from Dorset and Somerset, or by the pattern derived from barbaric Anglo-Saxon metalwork such as the clasps from Sutton Hoo.[1] The designs of the pavements and metalwork must have influenced the composition of the cruciform pages. The interlace patterns from the pavements may have played a part, with the interlace of Syriac and Coptic manuscripts in the development of the "open and irregular" interlace (fig. 35) of the Book of Durrow. The chequer patterns may derive from Island millefiori[2] or from the pattern work of the clasps like those from Sutton Hoo, while the step and fretwork designs may represent Keltic derivatives from late Roman floor pavements. The trumpet pattern, which was to play an important role in all later Irish manuscripts is probably derived from Romano-British enamels. The Durrow zoomorph and the metallic rendering of the Evangelist symbols must have Island metalwork sources.[3]

[1] Kendrick, pp. 62 ff, 98 ff. T.D. Kendrick, The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial (1947), pp. 61 ff, pl. 23.

[2] Henry pp. 39 ff.

[3] Kendrick, Anglo-Saxon Art, pp. 92 ff, The controversies over the sources of interlace, zoomorphs, and other motifs will be taken up later when they have a significant connection with Carolingian art.

The style of the Book of Durrow leads naturally to that of the Lindisfarne Gospels (London, British Museum, Cotton Nero D IV),[1] which were produced in Northumbria around A.D. 700, after the efforts of Benedict Biscop and Wilfred had brought the triumph of the Roman Church over the Keltic missions at the Synod of Whitby in A.D. 664. The Mediterranean elements, which brought about the transformation of the frankly barbaric style of the Book of Durrow, can be seen in the inhabited vine scrolls and figure work of the Ruthwell (fig. 36) and Bewcastle crosses. Although Biscop and Wilfred brought from Italy and France craftsmen and architects as well as books and liturgical equipment for the Benedictine abbeys which arose at Ripon, Hexham, Jarrow, and Wearmouth, the crosses reveal almost from the beginning a native rendering of Mediterranean elements.[2] The Keltic manuscript tradition, which was established by the Irish missions and which is manifest in the style of the Book of Durrow, survived in Northumbria and played a part in the creation of the Lindisfarne Gospels.[3] While the Durrow millefiori pattern

[1] Zimmermann, pp. 262 ff, pl. 223-244. E.G. Millar, The Lindisfarne Gospels (1923).

[2] C. Dawson, p. 207.

[3] Brøndsted, p. 92 , ascribes the Lindisfarne Gospels to the Irish school and links it with the Book of Kells. Baldwin Brown, The Arts in Early England V, pp. 343 ff. believes the Lindisfarne Gospels are Northumbrian, the work of an Anglian artist. R.G. Collingwood and J.N.L. Myres, Roman Britain and English Settlement (1936), pp. 420 ff point out the strength of Keltic survivals in Northumbria. Macalister, The Archaeology of Ireland (1928), pp. 300 ff., believes the Lindisfarne Gospels are of Irish workmanship, while Henry, pp. 77 ff believes the

work disappears and the Durrow interlace is transformed into a new thread-like interlace, which is extended to initial terminal and corner ornaments, the Durrow initial and cruciform pages lead logically to those of the Lindisfarne Gospels. The older Durrow zoomorph is changed under the influence of animal forms which may be derived from the bird and beast inhabited vine scrolls of the Northumbrian crosses. While the zoomorphs retain their double metallic contours and joint spirals, they acquire a more naturalistic rendering and are enmeshed in interlace s stemming from their necks, limbs, and tails.[1] Although many of these transformations of the Durrow style are due to the Mediterranean elements predominating in Northumbria after Whitby, there are native elements derived from the native British and Anglo-Saxon art of Northumbria. As we shall see the transformation of the interlace and some of the zoomorphs may well be due to these elements. Nevertheless the strength of the Mediterranean influence in the Lindisfarne Gospels is clearly exhibited by the Canon Tables and the pictorial rendering of the Evangelist pages (fig. 37), which replaced the calligraphic rendering of the Durrow Evangelists.

decoration of this manuscript, which was based on the Book of Durrow, was executed in Northumbria at Lindisfarne, where the Irish style would have survived after Whitby under abbots trained in Ireland or under pupils of Irishmen. Masai,pp. 126 ff, makes Durrow, Lindisfarne, and Kells products of Northumbria without benefit of Irish influence. There can hardly be any doubt regarding the Northumbrian origin of the Lindisfarne Gospels.

[1] Kendrick, pp. 107 ff. Henry, pp. 78 ff.

Fig. 36 Ruthwell Cross.

By the middle of the eighth century, the magnificent Lindisfarne style of Northumbria tended to revert to a more barbaric type, characterized by a metallic hardening of line and contour and a more abstract rendering of figural elements. This can be seen in the mid-eigith century Gospels of St. Chad (Lichfield, Cathedral Library) and the Durham Cassiodorus (Durham, Cathedral Library).[1] This stylistic reversion, which also effected the later Northumbrian crosses, is important here because it marks the style which was taken from Lindisfarne to the continent. The increasingly barbaric art of Northumbria after t his period does not concern our problem.[2]

On the continent, the mid-eighth century Northumbrian style was implanted at Echternach, a monastery which was founded near Trier around A.D. 698 by the Northumbrian monk Willibord. It has a manuscript style which is first manifested in the mid-eighth century Echternach Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 9389).[3] Although some scholars regard this manuscript as an import from Northumbria, it may well be the work of a North

[1]Kendrick, pp. 139. Zimmermann, pp. 269 ff, 271 ff, assigns the Gospels of St. Chad to the second quarter of the eighth century and attributes them to Wales (?). He places the Durham Cassiodorus in mid-eighth century Northumbria, See his plates 116-118, 118-119.

[2]Kendrick, pp. 137 ff.

[3]Zimmermann, pl. 255-258, 260-261. The Maihingen Gospels (Maihingen, Öttingen-Wallersteinische Bibliothek) and the Cambridge Gospel Fragment (Corpus Christi College, MS. 197), which are assigned to North England and to Echternach, show the same style as the Echternach Gospels. See Zimmermann, pl. 260-266, 259, 266.

Fig.37 St John from the Lindisfarne Gospels.

English monk working at Echternach.. The pages with the eagle and bull symbols of the Evangelists John and Luke are decorated with simple cruciform designs obviously derived from the Lindisfarne Gospels. The hardened contours of the animal and bird forms coupled with their highly ornamental rendering indicates a departure from the mid-eighth century manuscript style shown by the Gospels of St. Chad and the Durham Cassiodorus.

The first assuredly continental product of Echternach was the Kesselstadt Gospels.[1] This manuscript, which has a text written in a continental script, was the work of a scribe named Thomas, dating to about 773. The Northumbrian Lindisfarne elements may be seen in the interlace terminals and corner ornaments, the trumpet patterns, and the tetramorph with a braided border, while Byzantine sources must have provided the models for the Canon Tables with medallions recalling enamel ones. Many of the initials still make use of Merovingian bird and fish forms. This continental manuscript is one of the first products of the synthesis of Northumbrian, Oriental, and Merovingian elements, which were to play a significant role in the Carolingian renaissance.

While Northumbrian elements were predominate at Trier-Echternach, another Island style was making itself felt at Salzburg. This monastery must have come within the sphere of Anglo-Saxon influence in A.D. 739, when Boniface reorganized the

[1]Goldschmidt, pl. 4-8, Zimmermann, pl. 267-279.

Church in Bavaria. The Island elements at Salzburg can be traced back to Mercia. With the shift of political power from Northumbria to the Midlands in the days of Offa (A.D. 757-769 ?), art blossomed at York under the leadership of Alcuin. While the manuscripts possess certain Northumbrian elements, such as ornamental pages like those of Lindisfarne, they are dominated by Mediterranean influences which manifest themselves in animal and floral motifs and the figure style. The Mercian style, which was halfway between the classicism of the south and the barbarism of the North,[1] as well as the early style at Salzburg, is seen most clearly in the Cutbercht Gospels, which are dated to about A.D. 770.[2] This manuscript, which was the work of an Island monk named Cutbercht, contains Canon Tables and a Matthew page with side panels of interlace, top panels of scroll work and heart-shaped palmettes, and bottom panels with interlacing serpentine monsters and two confronted griffins. While the figure style is rendered in a classical manner, the vine scrolls are midway between those in Canterbury and Northumbrian manuscripts. The animals, which foreshadow those of later Mercian manuscripts, such as the Rome Gospels and the Leningrad Gospels,[3] are a stage removed from the Lindisfarne type. The frankly Northumbrian

[1] Kendrick, pp. 143 ff.

[2] Zimmermann, pl. 297-312. Goldschmidt, pp. 8, 29.

[3] While Kendrick, pp. 143 ff assigns these manuscripts and the Cutbercht Gospels to Mercia, Zimmermann, pp. 136 ff, 297 ff and Brøndsted, pp. 113 ff assign them to the South English group. Zimmermann admits the difficulty of localizing this group in the British Isles.

elements such as the trumpet pattern are gone, but details of pattern, such as those of the bird motif and the rendering of interlace have Northumbrian analogies. While Zimmermann and Goldschmidt[1] assign it to a South English monk, Kendrick believes it is a York or Mercian work dating before 900. Where ever it was made, it had reached Salzburg in the first half of the ninth century.[2] The whole style of this manuscript forms a fitting prelude not only to the beginnings of Anglo-Saxon influence in Germany, but also to later Mercian work. There must also have been Anglo-Saxon influence at Fulda, which was established in the early eighth century by St. Boniface. Unfortunately the early manuscripts from the period before the monastery was swept by Ada and antique revival influence have been lost.

Island influence is difficult to evaluate in the manuscript series of Corbie, Fleury, and Northeast France and in the Franco-Saxon school, which only begins after the middle of the ninth century with the Second Bible of Charles the Bald. This latter school made use of interlace, often of the most elaborate type, for capitals, columns, corner and initial ornament. The frequency of animal heads for initial terminals and the use of bird motifs and zoomorphs overshadows the antique, Oriental, and Mediterranean elements of these Carolingian manuscripts. The

[1]Zimmermann, p. 297. Goldschmidt, p.29 assigns these Gospels to the South English Monk, Cutbercht, but states that it is possible that he was working at Salzburg.

[2]Kendrick, p..143.

interlace and zoomorphic patterns have analogies in both the Northumbrian and Mercian manuscript schools. Although the Franco-Saxon group, which is set off from all the other schools of Carolingian manuscripts by its emphasis on Northern ornamental motifs and patterns, dates to the last half of the ninth century and the tenth century, its ornament can be interpreted in terms of the survival of Island elements implanted by Island monks in northeast Merovingian scriptoria in the late eighth centuyy or by the influx of new elements from the British Isles in the ninth.[1] In any case it was geographically situated close to the British Isles.

While the influence of both groups of Island illuminators can be seen in the Franco-Saxon school, it is difficult to determine the extent of influences radiating from the school of Canterbury and southern England, although it must, as we shall see, have played a role in the manuscript styles of Northeast France, the Franco-Saxon ateliers, and other Carolingian schools. Unfortunately there is little evidence for the development of art at Canterbury and in southern England until the manuscripts of the last quarter of the eighth century and the ninth century. The Canterbury Stockholm Codex aureus, and the Psalter Cotton Vespasian A.I, and the Gospel Royal I.E VI of the British Museum[2] indicate that the Mediterranean style brought in by Theodore and

[1] Leprieur, pp. 366 ff.

[2] Zimmermann, pl. 280-286, 286-288, 289-292, Kendrick, pp. 159 ff. Brøndsted, pp. 99 ff.

Hadrian continued in the south uninterrupted by the reversion to barbarism which took place in the North.[1] These three manuscripts illustrate the dominance of the classical figure style and ornamental approach. Little is left of the legacy of Northumbrian art, for the older Island ornamental forms have been replaced by Mediterranean-Oriental ones.[2] Although the use of the vine scroll might indicate North English influence, zoomorphs and even interlace are developed in a distinctive fashion.

Whatever may be the case about the influence of Canterbury and southern England on the continent, it is difficult to see any Irish influence. The occasional Irish manuscripts which occur at St. Gall, Turin, Fulda, and Würzburg did not effect the style of Carolingian illumination.[3] This is borne out by the fact that all of the assuredly Irish manuscripts on the continent

[1] Kendrick, pp. 159 ff.

[2] Zimmermann, p. 23 ff points out that the displacement of the older Island ornament is indicated by appearance of new animal forms combined with scrolls and interlace, which must be derived from older Island tradition.

[3] Zimmermann, pp. 22 ff states that the mission of Irish art was fulfilled once it had set foot in Northumbria, for after this its influence on the continent came indirectly through Anglo-Saxon Britain.. For Irish manuscripts of St.Gall, Turin, Fulda, Würzburg see Zimmermann, pl. 185-192,191b,197,192b,193,208,198, 211,205e,220. Henry, pp. 157 ff believes that Irish monks fleeing from the Viking invaders of Ireland in the ninth century would have brought new Irish elements to the continent. She claims that Irish manuscripts must have influenced the formation of the Franco-Saxon school. See also Micheli, pp. 129 ff. Aside from one isolated and rare trumpet spiral tacked on to an initial of the second Bible of Charles the Bald (fol. 416), there is little that is Irish in this school. See E. van Moë, La lettre ornée dans les manuscrits VII-XII siècle (Paris,1943), pl. 52.

retain initials with trumpet spirals, which are unknown in full Carolingian work. It is important to note that the initials of these manuscripts are without interlace terminals, which are present in so many of the Carolingian manuscripts. The presence of the Irish manuscripts in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, all of which date to the late eighth or early ninth centuries, can only be accounted for in terms of chance diffusion by monks travelling from Ireland to the continent.

On the eve of the Carolingian renaissance, the manuscript art of the Romance area was following a native continental tradition. The schools of the old Gallo-Roman lands, such as Luxeuil, Fleury, and to a certain extent Corbie, carried on the traditional bird and fish lettering, floral devices, and the simplest type of twisted or plaited interlace. Except at Corbie, there is little if anything that can be ascribed to Island influence. The style of these late Merovingian schools retained a sense of balance and restraint which never allowed the artists to depart from natural forms. Stylistically they could not accept, much less assimilate the Island interlace and zoomorphic elements which were spreading to the continent. In the lands settled by the Germans, in Northeast France, along the Rhine, and in southern Germany and Switzerland, the Island styles brought by monks from Northumbria, Mercia, and even southern England found fertile soil, for they shared with the Germans a similar artistic concept of art as an abstract ornamental creation.

Island Artistic Elements

The distribution and elaboration of Island elements such as interlace, which was used for panels on miniature borders and the bodies of initials, corner knots, and initial terminals; zoomorphs and zoomorphic terminals; trumpet patterns, fretwork offers interesting evidende as to the geographical distribution of Northern taste at the beginning of the Carolingian period. In the west, Island elements played an extremely minor role at Tours and Corbie and are totally absent in the manuscripts of schools like Reims and Metz. In the Germanic lands, there was strong Island influence in the schools of Trier-Echternach, Salzburg, and presumably Fulda. The Ada school would have acquired its limited number of Island elements, usually a bit of interlace or interlacing terminals with zoomorphic ends, from the Rhenish Trier-Echternach school and perhaps Fulda. The occasional occurrence of these elements in the minor schools of the Weser, the Rhine, and South Germany can be explained in terms of Ada influence or of Island elements current in western Germany. At Trier-Echternach the Island elements continued in the Kesselstadt Gospels, the Sta Maria ad Martyres Gospels, and the Tegernsee Gospels, but they were transformed and played an increasingly limited role. The manuscripts of Salzburg followed the Anglo-Saxon lead given by the Cutbercht Gospels just into the ninth century and then turned to a purely antique style. The Island elements which survived the impact of the antique revival in the

major Carolingian schools were completely transformed to fit within the new artistic structure erected by the Carolingian renaissance. In analyzing the sources of Island elements, one must keep in mind that they are separated from their ultimate origins by the gradual stylistic changes which took place not only in Carolingian scriptoria but also in Island monasteries and Island monastic ateliers on the continent. Nevertheless, the sources, extent, and modifications of Island elements can best be shown by an analysis of those elements which played a role in full Carolingian art.

a. Ornamental Pages

The cruciform page has a relatively unimportant place in Carolingian illumination, while the Island type of initial page only occurs in a simplified in the earlier Carolingian manuscript schools or in manuscripts traceable to the influence of these schools. The Island cruciform page, which had such an important role in manuscripts like the Book of Lindisfarne and the Book of Durrow, may go back to the cross patterns of Coptic manuscripts (Vatican 9, 16).[1] These offer closer stylistic parallels than the northeast Italian Valerianus Gospels (Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, lat. 6224) or the Luxeuil Gregorius in Ezechiel (Petersburg, Imperial Library, Lat. Q.v.I.N. 14).[2] In any case the Mediterranean cruciform pattern was elaborated in

[1] Aberg, British Isles, pp. 101 ff, figs, 75-76, 78, 79-80.

[2] Zimmermann, pl. 4, 64a.

A Page from Book of Kells. Trinity College. Dublin.

Fig. 38 Page from the Book of Kells.

the British Isles under the influence of designs borrowed from late Roman pavements or local metalwork like than of Sutton Hoo.[1] It would have spread with the Northumbrian style to Trier-Echternach, where it appears in cruciform designs of pages with Evangelist symbols.[2] It survived here until the early ninth century, to judge from a similar page from the Tegernsee Gospels.[3] Although it must have influenced the cruciform design of the older Lindau Gospel cover, the cruciform pattern died out in Carolingian illumination with the waning of the influence of Island elements at Trier-Echternach.

The elaborate initials of the Island manuscripts, whose development can be traced from the Book of Durrow through the Lindisfarne Gospels to the Book of Kells, appear only in aimplified versions on the continent. The X or XPI initials of the Book of Durrow (fol. 15), the Lindisfarne Gospels (fol. 29), and the Book of Kells (fol. 24r)(fig. 38), which show the evolution of the Great Monogram in early Keltic manuscripts.[4] can be clearly traced only in the Echternach Gospels (fol. 19r) on the continent.[5] The N or IN initials can be traced from the Book of Durrow (fol.78r) and the Lindisfarne Gospels (fol. 95r) to the

[1] Kendrick, op.cit.

[2] Goldschmidt, pl. 3, 4.

[3] Goldschmidt, pl. 11b.

[4] Kendrick, pp. 94 ff, fig. 20..Masai, pl. VI 4, Zimmermann, pl. 241, 178.

[5] Masai, pl. IX 2.

Trier-Echternach school, where similar initials occur in the Echternach Gospels (fol. 76r, 177r) and the Kesselstadt Gospels (fol. 6).[1] From the Trier-Echternach school, this variety of initial reached the Ada group, where it occurs in manuscripts such as the St.Martin-des-Champs Gospels (fol. 61).[2] While the initials of the Trier-Echternach school stand close to their Northumbrian models even to the use of trumpet patterns for terminals, the Ada interpretation is much more free in general as well as detailed treatment. The L or LI initial has much the same history, for it to can be followed from the Lindisfarne Gospels (fol 27r) through the Echternach Gospels (fol 20r) to the loosely rendered initial of the Gospels of St. Denis (fol. 18), the floralized initial of the Karlsburg Gospels (fol. 37), and the only distantly related initial of the Gospels of Charlemagne (fol. 18).[3] These three Ada Gospels, with the earlier examples, clearly show one of the channels through which Northumbrian influence reached the Rhineland. The X initial, which played such an important role in Durrow, Lindisfarne, Kells, and later Irish manuscripts, reached Salzburg through the agency of the Mercian Cutbercht Gospels (fol 22r).[4] It has no further history

[1] Zimmermann, pl. 160 a. Masai, pl. XIII, VIII. Goldschmidt pl. 8a.

[2] Goldschmidt, pl. 30.

[3] Zimmermann, pl. 240, Masai, pl. IX 1, Boinet, pl. V. Goldschmidt, pl. 41, Boinet, pl. IX.

[4] Swarzenski, pl. V 15.

of development at Salzburg and gives way to the later floralized interlace initials which are akin to those of the full Carolingian manuscripts of St. Gall and Corbie. Unfortunately there is no evidence from Fulda, but these later St. Gall and Corbie initials bear no traceable relationship to the Island styles, although they embody elements which may go back to Island sources. The initials of the late Franco-Saxon school, such as those of the Gospels of St. Vaast (fol 8) and the Second Bible of Charles the Bald (fol. 11),[1] can better be derived from Northumbrian influences, which were behind the Trier-Echternach and Ada groups, than from a fresh wave of Island or Irish influence resulting from the breakup and dispersal of Irish monks by the Norse invasion of Ireland.[2] The Ada influence behind the Evangelist pages of the Gospels of Francis II and the Cologne Gospels[3] could easily have inspired the initial and other ornamental elements which were elaborated in Franco-Saxon manuscripts. Undountedly, the interlace and other Island elements which were implanted during the late eighth century in Merovingian schools of Northeast France by Anglo-Saxon monks or left behind by Anglo-Saxon monks on their way to Germany, survived to play their role in the Franco-Saxon ateliers. The style of these ateliers must, however, be regarded as a continental Carolingian creation. In the Romance areas, one can detect little,

[1] Boinet, pl. XCV a. C a.

[2] Henry, pp. 159, Micheli, pp. 127 ff.

[3] Boinet, pl. XCIX a, CVIII c-d.

if any Irish or Anglo-Saxon influence in the initials and ornamental pages of the schools of Reims, Metz, and Tours.

b. Interlace Elements

Interlacing ornament, although unusual in metalwork and ivories, is extremely common in Carolingian manuscript illumination. The interlace of the manuscripts usually consists of a single strand and differs markedly from the double or triple strands of the interlace used in stone and stucco sculpture. Interlace in the panels of borders and initials, in isolated knots, in corner ornaments, and on initial terminals occurs in the first manuscripts of Trier-Echternach and Salzburg, which were derived from or made in Island manuscript scriptoria. This combination of interlace designs plays a dominant role in works of the Ada group and survives in part in some of the Franco-Saxon manuscripts. It occurs in a simplified form in Tours manuscripts, where it is largely restricted to panels and corner knots and a few initial terminals. Interlace is uncommon in the manuscripts of the minor Rhenish, south German and northwest German schools. It survives in a floralized form in the full Carolingian schools of St. Gall and Corbie. Interlace is absent or unimportant in the manuscripts of the Palace school, the later Salzburg school, and the schools of Fulda, Reims, and Metz, all of which fell completely under the spell of the antique revival or grew up in the old Gallo-Roman areas.[1]

[1] See annex for distribution of ornamental elements.

1. Interlace Panels and Borders

The type of interlace which was used to decorate the panels of initials and the borders of pages had the widest usage in the illumination of Carolingian manuscripts. Along the Rhine this type of interlace was used in the decoration of manuscripts of the Trier-Echternach school, such as the Kesselstadt Gospels (pl. L a-b); the Ada group, such as the Godescalc Gospels (pl. L d, LI a), the St. Martin-des-Champs Gospels (LI b), the St. Riquier Gospels (pl. LI c) the Harleian Gospels (pl. LI d), the Gospels of St.Médard of Soissons(pl. LII a-b), Psalter of Charlemagne (pl. LII c-d), and other Ada manuscripts, and the Kremsmünster Gospels (pl. L c) of the Salzburg school. It also occurs in the Ingolstadt Gospels (pl. LIII a) of the Fulda school, the Köln Gospels (pl. LIII b-c) of the Rhineland, and the Schäftlarn Gospels, which have been attributed to a South German school. Border and panel interlace was used at St. Gall in manuscripts like the Evangelium longum, and it was especially common in the Franco-Saxon school. In manuscripts of this latter school it can be seen in the Second Bible of Charles the Bald (pl. LIII d, LIV a-b), the Gospels of St. Vaast (pl. LIV c-d, LV a-b), the Gospels of Francis II (pl. LV c), the Sacramentary of St. Thierry (pl. LV d), the Sacramentary of St. Denis (pl. LVI a), the Egerton Gospels (pl. LVI b), the Cologne Gospels (pl. LVI c), and the Egmond Gospels (pl. LVI d). To these examples from manuscript illumination, one must add the

simple interlace motifs used on the Kremsmünster chalice (pl. XLIX a-b) and the older Lindau Gospel cover (pl. XLIX c-d). To the west in France interlace panel work played a decreasing role in the ornamentation of manuscripts. While interlace panels were used to some extent at Corbie, in the floralized form of the initial pages of the Codex aureus of St. Emmeran and the San Callisto Bible, they do not occur often in manuscripts of the sdhools of Metz and Reims. At Tours the interlace or pseudo-interlace of the Gospels of St. Gauzelin (pl. LVII a-b), the Lothair Gospels, the Montier-Grandval Bible (pl. LVII c), and the Raganaldus Sacramentary (pl. LVII d), is usually a simple twist of two strands. The more complex varieties with knots and loops (pl. LVII b-d) are less frequent.

The simple twisted type of interlace, without loops, knots, or breaks, is limited to the older Lindau Gospel cover (pl. XLIX d) and the manuscripts of the school of Tours. The sources for this simple variety of interlace must be sought first in immediate continental antecedents before exploring possible Island or ultimate Mediterranean origins. This motif can be explained best in terms of continental Merovingian materials. It occurs in earlier Merovingian manuscripts such as the Isidori MS (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat 13028)(fol. 33a(pl. LX c) of the school of Corbie[1], and the Historia Francorum Gregorii (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 17654)(fol. 54 b (pl. LX d) and the

[1] Zimmermann, pl. 115 d.

Augustini epistolae (Oxford, Bodelian Library, Misc. 126) (fol. 5a) of the northeast French scriptoria.[1] Similar twisted interlace motifs can be seen on Merovingian sculptured sarcophagi and slabs from Geny (Aisne)(pl. XLII a), from the cemetery of St. Saturnin (Toulouse (pl. XLII c), and from Molesme-Laingnes (Cote d(Or)[2] and on ecclesiastical and barbaric metalwork of the Merovingian period. The twisted type of interlace can be seen on Burgundian buckles from Lussy (pl. LIX b) which date to the seventh century, and on the reliquary from the church of St. Bonnet-Avalouse (pl. LIX c), which dates to about A.D. 600.[3] These analogies from Merovingian manusxripts, sculpture, and metalwork show direct continental antecedents for the simple twisted interlace of Carolingian ornament.

Examples of twisted interlace can also be found outside Merovingian France. In the British Isles, a simple twisted interlace can be seen on the borders of the Stonyhurst book cover (pl. LVIII a), the Franks casket (pl. XLVIII a), and the Brunswick casket (pl. LVIII b), all of which are regarded as works made in Northumbria or under Northunbrian influence,although the Franks casket shows strong Scandinavian influence.[4] To the south

[1]Zimmermann, pl. 128a, 138.

[2]Coutil, fig. opp. p. 36,50. Baum , pl. LXXI 188.

[3]Baum, pl. XXVI 83, XXXV 113.

[4]Kendrick, pp. 120-122, 169. pl. XLIII 1, XLIV-XLV, LXX 2.

it can be found in Visigothic Spain, as on the buckle from Olius (Province of Lérida),[1] and in Lombard Italy, where it occurs in sculpture at Ravenna, Cividale, and Rome. The simple twisted interlace motif, which must have a Mediterranean origin as evidenced by its use on Roman pavements from the Near East to Britain, survived in Italy, Gaul, and Britain to be used in Merovingian times. In Carolingian manuscripts it might best be regarded as a motif derived from continental Merovingian and Roman provincial sources.

On the other hand, the type of Carolingian interlace characterized by loops, knots, or breaks, can be traced to Island sources. The interlace patterns of the Ada-Godescalc group of manuscripts have their best analogies in Echternach and Northumbrian manuscripts. The interlace of the initial and panels of the Godescalc Gospels (pl. LI a'), the Psalter of Charlemagne (pl. LII c'), and the Ada-Rhine Köln Gospels (pl. LIII c') can be traced back to the Trier-Echternach school . The Kesselstadt Gospels (fol. 19a, pl. LXII d; fol. 5 b, pl. L a''''),[1] whose interlace can be matched in the border of the Echternach Gospels' Evangelist page(fol. 18 b).[3] Furthermore the interlace of the Godescalc Gospels (pl. LI a) may be compared with that of the Echternach Maihingen Gospels (fol. 127a (pl. LXI b).[4] Carrying

[1] Baum, pl. XXVII 86.

[2] Zimmermann, pl. 276, 274.

[3] Zimmermann, pl. 255 a.

[4] Zimmermann, pl. 260 b.

the comparison a step further, one can point to the affinities between the interlace of the Köln Gospels (pl. LIII c') and the Kesselstadt Gospels (pl. L a'''') with that of the Durham Cassiodorus (fol. 81 b).[1] The Kesselstadt Gospels also have interlace patterns (pl. L a''''), which have affinities with the Lindisfarne Gospels (fol.12 a),[2] while the Köln Gospels have interlace(pl. LIII c= which can be compared with that of the Book of St. Chad (fol. 221 (pl. LXI a). Furthermore the Godescalc Gospels(pl. LI a') and the Köln Gospels (pl. LIII c) both possess interlace comparable to that of the Book of Durrow (fol.78 a, 118 a).[3] The interlinkage of these patterns of interlace belonging to manuscripts of the Ada-Godescalc, Trier-Echternach, and Northumbrian groups, together with the evidence provided by the initial and cruciform pages, indicates the dominance of Northumbrian influence along the Rhine.[4]

Mercian and Canterbury influence also penetrated into Germany during the late eighth and early ninth centuries. It can

[1] Zimmermann, pl. 247.

[2] Zimmermann, pl. 227. The interlace of the Köln Gospels also has analogies with the Lindisfarne Gospels (fol. 12 a).

[3] Zimmermann, pl. 160.

[4] The analogies between the interlace of the Ada MSS such as the Psalter of Charlemagne (pl. LII c), the Köln Gospels (pl. LIII c'), the St.Martin-des-Champs Gospels (pl. LI b), and of the Trier-Echternach MSS such as the Kesselstadt Gospels (pl. L a) and that of contemporary continental Irish MSS such as the St. Gall Codex 51 (pag. 3, 129, 79) and the St. Gall MS 1395 (pag.482) must be due to common sources, because there is no evidence of direct Irish influence at Trier and in the Ada group. See Zimmermann, pl. 185, 186, 197a.

be seen clearly only in south Germany, where the older Lindau Gospel cover has interlacing patterns (pl. XLIX c), which can be compared with those of the Canterbury Stockholm Codex aureus (fol. 9 b) and the Mercian Cutbercht Gospels (fol. 71 b (pl. LXII a).[1]

Now certain interlace patterns of the Godescalc Gospels, the St. Martin-des-Champs Gospels (pl. LI b), and the Psalter of Charlemagne (pl. LII c-d) of the Ada group and the Second Bible of Charles the Bald (pl. LIV d) are like ones in the Canterbury Liber Ethelwaldi Episcopi MS (pl. LXI c).[2] Interlace forms of the Franco-Saxon school, such as the one of the Gospels of Francis II (pl. LV c) have analogies in the Mercian Cutbercht Gospels (pl. LXI d). The interlace types of the Ada and Franco-Saxon school, which have affinities with ones of the Canterbury school, can also be compared with interlace in the late Merovingian Hieronymus in Esaiam manuscript of the school of Corbie (pl. LVIII d).[3] This coupled with the fact that there are analogies between the interlace of the Corbie Hieronymus super Ezechiel manuscript (pl. LVIII c)[4] and the Mercian Cutbercht Gospels (pl. LXII a) and between the Franco-Saxon Gospels of Francis II (pl. LV c) and the Cutbercht Gospels (pl. LXI d) may indicate that Mercian and Canterbury elements penetrated into northern France to influence the late Merovingian school of Corbie. They would

[1] Zimmermann, pl. 282, 298.

[2] Zimmermann, pl. 294 a.

[3] Zimmermann, pl. 109.

[4] Zimmermann, pl. 107 a.

have survived and after having undergone elaboration in the early ninth century would have played a role in the formation of the Franco-Saxon style. In this case the Canterbury elements in the Ada manuscripts would represent direct influence along the Rhine, distinct from that which affected Corbie and survived into the Franco-Saxon style. The presence of Mercian elements as well as Canterbury ones in the manuscripts of the Ada group, such as the Psalter of Charlemagne (pl. LII d), the Gospels of St, Martin-des-Champs (pl. LI b), and the Ada-Rhine Gospels (pl. LIII c) which have possible analogies in the Cutbercht Gospels (pl. LXII a),[1] can be explained in two ways. By direct Mercian and Canterbury influence on the Ada group or by the possibility that the similarities are due to the fact that certain types of interlace could have been shared by all Island schools. In the latter case it is possible that the Mercian and Canterbury elements might have come from Northumbria.

This limited evidence, which suggests a web of connections rather than a straightforward chain of relationships, indicates the prevalence of Northumbrian elements along the Rhine in the Trier-Echternach and Ada-Godescalc manuscripts, and the presence of Mercian and Canterbury elements at Corbie and in Northeast France (where they could have survived to play a part in the Franco-Saxon work) as well as along the Rhine and in southern Germany at Salzburg. The variety of Island interlace

[1] Zimmermann, pl. 298.

patterns, coupled with their continental modifications, makes it difficult to trace them with certainity even to their immediate sources.

The more complex varieties of interlace patterns,which had undergone from fifty to one hundred years of development on the continent, occur mainly in the Ada and Franco-Saxon schools. The interlace of these two schools is difficult to evaluate because of the limited amount of evidence. The Harleian (pl.LI d), St. Médard (pl. LII a-b), Lorsch Gospels of the Ada group have a few complicated interlaces which find their best, though still vague, analogies in the Durham Cassiodorus (fol. 81 b (pl. LXII b) and the Echternach Gospels.[1] The extremely complex interlace of the Franco-Saxon manuscripts, like that of the Second Bible of Charles the Bald (pl. LIV a) and the Gospels of St. Vaast (pl. LV b) have their best analogies in the complicated interlace of the Lindisfarne Gospels (fol. 138b (pl. LXII v).[2] Interlace, nevertheless, remains even in its more distinctive forms a very tricky guide to the affinities and analogies between groups of manuscripts. Certain elaborate interlace patterns of the Godescalc Gospels (pl. L d), the St. Riquier Gospels (pl. LI c), the Gospels of St. Médard (pl. LII a-b), and the Psalter of Charlemagne (pl. LII c) of the Ada group; the Ingolstadt Gospels (pl. LIII a) of the school of Fulda; the Ada-Rhine Köln Gospels (pl. LIII b); and the Second Bible of Charles the Bald (pl. LIII d,

[1] Zimmermann, pl. 258 a-c, Kendrick, pl. LIV a.

[2] Zimmermann, pl. 237, Henry, pl. 30, Kendrick,pl. LIX 1.

LIV a-b), the Gospels of St. Vaast (pl. LIV c-d, LV a), the Gospels of Francis II (pl. LV c), the Sacramentary of St. Thierry (pl. LV d), the Sacramentary of St. Denis (pl. LVI a), the Egerton Gospels (pl. LVI b), the Köln Gospels (pl. LVI c), and the Egmond Gospels (pl. LVI d) of the Franco Saxon school represent Carolingian elaborations of types which were perhaps drawn from Island sources. The floralized interlace designs of Corbie and St. Gall manuscripts are too far removed from Island sources to permit any comparison. It must be remembered that interlace patterns are individualistic, and often the product of the fancies of the artist working on a particular manuscript. In later Carolingian manuscripts interlace was elaborated in a manner differing from that of the Island styles.

2. Interlace Knotwork Designs

The knotwork designs, which occur in the Ada and Franco-Saxon schools and to a limited extent in the manuscripts of the schools of Trier, Salzburg, and the Rhine, further illustrate the difficulty of tracing the sources of even simple interlace motifs. The simple knots of the Sta. Maria ad Martyres Gospel (pl. LXIV b,d) of Trier, the St. John Chrysostom Homeliae of Salzburg, the Ada-Rhine Köln Gospels (pl. LXVI a), and the Geneols-Elderen diptych (pl. LXIII a) have no obvious Island manuscript analogies. The simplest knots of the Sta. Maria ad Martyres (pl. LXIV a) might be derived from the Merovingian ornament such as that of the Augustini MS (fol. OB (pl. LXVIII a) of the school

of Corbie (A.D. 760).[1] On the other hand, the St. Martin-des-Champs Gospels of the Ada group have irregular knotwork (pl. LXV b) which can be paralleled in both Northumbrian manuscripts such as the Blicking Hall Psalter (pl. LXVIII d) and Canterbury manuscripts like the British Museum Psalter (fol. 93b (pl. LXVIII b), the British Museum Gospels (fol. 43a (pl. LXVIII c), and the Cambridge Liber Ethelwaldi Episcopi (fol. 43a).[2] The framed knotwork designs of the ornamental pages of the Tegernsee Gospels (pl. LXV a) of the Trier-Echternach school and of the Harleian Gospels (pl. LXV d) of the Ada group must represent simiplifications of knotwork designs used on the cruciform pages of the Kesselstadt Gospels (fol. 18b (pl. LXIII b, LXIX a), which must go back through Northumbria to designs in the Book of Durrow (fol. 1b (pl. LXIX b). This sequence of evidence coupled with the earlier ornamental page and interlace analogies reinforces the concept of Northumbrian influence on the Ada manuscripts coming through the Trier-Echternach school.[3] The late and much elaborated knotwork motifs of the Franco-Saxon manuscripts, such as the knot patterns from the Second Bible of Charles the Bald (pl. LXVI b) and the Gospels of St. Vaast (pl. LXVI c, LXVII c-d) have possible analogies in the Cutbercht Gospels (fol. 22a (pl. LXIX c) and the Autun Gospels, which were produced at Flavigny around A.D. 780 under strong Island influence adding to the

[1] Zimmermann, p.. 200, pl. 113a.

[2] Zimmermann, pl. 251 b, 287 a 289, 293.

[3] Zimmermann, pl. 268 , 165 a.

evidence for Mercian influence in northeast France.[1] The circular knotwork designs of the Franco-Saxon Gospels of St.Vaast (pl. LXVI d, LXVII a) have analogies with the British Museum Canterbury Gospels (fol. 43a (pl. LXIX d) indicating Canterbury influence.[2] The simple knots of the Gospels of St. Vaast (pl. LXVII b), the Ada St, Martin-des-Champs Gospels (pl. LXV c), which are similar to Merovingian knotwork of the Paris Hieronymus in Esaian manuscript (fol. 1b(pl. LXX a-b), might be explained as survivals of Merovingian ornament, originally inspired from the Mediterranean and East.[3] Leaving aside examples of plain knotwork such as that from the Kesselstadt Gospels (pl. LXIII c-d), the distribution of knotwork and its relationships parallels that of the interlacing, indicating Northumbrian influence at Trier and in the Ada group, and Canterbury and Mercian influence in the Franco-Saxon and Ada manuscripts.

3. Interlace Corner Ornaments

Certain types of interlace and knotwork designs used to ornament the corners of miniature frames occur largely in the school of Tours, although there are isolated examples at Trier-Echternach (the Kesselstadt Gospels, pl. LXXI a-b), St.Gall (the Psalterium aureum, pl. LXXI c) Corbie (the Sacramentary of Rodrade, pl. LXXII a), and the Franco-Saxon School (the Wolfen-

[1] Zimmermann, pl. 309, 329 d, 331.

[2] Zimmermann, pl. 289.

[3] Zimmermann, pl. 109.

büttel Psalter, pl. LXXI d). Interlace corner knots are found in the Bible of Charles the Bald (pl. LXXIII c), the Raganaldus Sacramentary (pl. LXXIII a), the Gospels of Prüm (pl. LXXIII b), the Gospels of St. Gauzelin (pl. LXXII c), the Bamberg Bible (pl. LXXII b), and the Lothair Gospels (pl. LXXII d) of the school of Tours. This type of corner knot has good Island analogies in the Lindisfarne Gospels(fol. 93b (pl. LXXIV a) the Book of St. Chad (fol. 221 (pl. LXXIV b), the Durham Cassiodorus (fol. 172b), and the Book of Kells (fol. 28b (pl.LXXIV c).[1] The corner knots of the Kesselstadt Gospels are difficult to trace. While one of the corner knots of this Gospels (pl. LXXI a) might be traced back to the Book of Kells (fol. 28b (pl. LXXIV d),[2] the other (pl. LXXI b), which has no obvious Island analogy, might represent a simplification of a zoomorphic corner ornament. The only obvious source for these various types of corner knot motifs is Northumbria. They may well have been copied first at Trier-Echternach, whence with other Island elements they may have spread to Tours, St. Gall, and Corbie. The Franco-Saxon examples could have come directly from the same source, or they could have been borrowed from Tours, which exercised considerable influence in Northeast France in the late ninth century.

4. Interlace Initial Terminals

Only certain types of initial terminals which are composed solely of interlace are sufficiently distinctive in

[1] Zimmermann, pl. 224,246b,248, 173 [2] Ibid, pl.173.

structure to be used as guides in tracing Island influence. While there are only a few interlace terminals in the Northumbrian school, one can, nevertheless, compare Carolingian initial terminals with Island corner ornaments. The manuscripts of the Ada group, the Stl Martin-des-Champs Gospels, the St. Riquier Gospels, the St. Denis Gospels, and the Lorsch Gospels, have some eighth or ten varieties of initials, which for purposes of comparison can be divided into two basic types. One type is characterized in general by down-turned corner loops and a central-heart-shaped or two-loop interlace pattern. This variety occurs in the following manuscripts: the Kesselstadt Gospels (pl. LXXV a) and the Sta. Maria ad Martyres Gospels (pl. LXXV c-d) of the school of Trier-Echternach; the St. Martin-des-Champs Gospels (pl. LXXVI c) and the Harleian Gospels (pl. LXXVII c) of the Ada school; the Wolfcoz Psalter (pl. LXXVIII b), the Psalterium aureum (pl. LXXIX d), and the Folchard Psalter (pl. LXXIX a) of the school of St. Gall; the Köln Gospels of the Ada-Rhine group (pl. LXXX c); the Second Bible of Charles the Bald (pl. LXXX d), the Gospels of St. Vaast (pl. LXXXI b-c), the Sacramentary of Le Mans (pl. LXXXI d), the Egerton Gospels (pl. LXXXII a), and the Leyden Gospels (pl. LXXXII b) of the Franco-Saxon school. Similar interlace initials occur at Corbie (the Nonantola Sacramentary, pl. LXXXIII d) and Tours (the Rpdrade Sacramentary, pl. LXXXIV a, and Raganaldus Sacramentary, pl. LXXXIV c). The second type has up-turned corner loops and a

central interlace organized around a lattice pattern or about three or more inner knots. It occurs in the St.Martin-des-Champs Gospels (pl. LXXVI b), the St. Riquier Gospels (pl. LXXVI d, LXXVII b), the St. Denis Gospels (pl. LXXVII d), and the Gospels of Lorsch (pl. LXXVIII a), all of the Ada group. The isolated examples at Tours (the Gospels of Prüm , pl. LXXXIV d) and in the Franco-Saxon manuscripts (the Second Bible of Charles the Bald, pl. LXXXI a) have complex central designs similar to those of the Ada group. The interlace initials of the first type have analogies in the Lindisfarne Gospels (fol. 137b (pl. LXXXV b), (fol. 24b, pl. LXXXV d), the Durham Cassiodorus (fol. 212b, pl. LXXXV a), and the Irish Dimma Gospels of Trinity College,Dublin (fol. 55 (pl. LXXXVI a).[1] The second type of interlace initial has affinities with the initials of the Cutbercht Gospels (fol. 166a (pl. LXXXVI b) and the St. Petersburg Gospels (fol. 18a (pl. LXXXVI c),(fol. 177a (pl. LXXXVI d), both of which belong to the Mercian school.[2] The distribution and relationships of the first initial type agree with the Northumbrian connections of the Trier-Echternach and Ada groups. This type of initial after much continental elaboration could have spread to St.Gall, Corbie, or Tours, and even the Franco-Saxon school, although one must remember the possibility that it could have reached these latter schools independently. The interpretation of the

[1]Zimmermann, pl. 225, 226. 223, 222 b, 196 c.

[2]Zimmermann, pl. 312, 324, 325 a.

distribution and relationships of the second variety, which occurs in the Ada group and at Tours and in the Franco-Saxon school, is more difficult, The may well have been a legacy from Mercian and Canterbury monks passing through the Franco-Saxon area and the Rhineland to missions in Germany. Alcuin would account for the examples at Tours.

Certain initials of the Trier Kesselstadt Gospels (pl. LXXV b), the Ada St. Riquier Gospels (pl. LXXVII a), the Rhine Köln Gospels (pl. LXXX b), the St. Gall Bodleian Sacramentary (pl. LXXVIII c), and many others are difficult to classify and can only be regarded as Carolingian elaborations. Some initial terminals of the St. Gall manuscripts, such as those from the Geneva Codex 37 (pl. LXXVIII d), the Folchard Psalter (pl. LXXIX a-b), the St. Gall Codex 77 (pl. LXXIX c), the Psalterium aureum (pl. LXXIX d), and the Evangelium longum (pl. LXXX a) show the elaboration of Carolingian initials through floralization which was to lead to the creation of a new initial type destined to play a vital role in Ottonian illumination. Nevertheless parts of the initials, such as the top corners of the initial B of the Beatus vir page of the Folchard Psalter (pl. LXXIX a) and the Psalterium aureum (pl. LXXIX d), retain reminiscences of Island ornament and early Carolingian work. The late initials of the Franco-Saxon school and the school of Corbie are also far removed from their ultimate Island sources and represent a hundred years of continental development of ornament. Nevertheless Franco-Saxon

initials, such as those of the Second Bible of Charles the Bald (pl. LXXXI a), the Leyden Gospels (pl. LXXXII b), and the Egerton Gospels (pl. LXXXII a) retain designs which can be paralleled in both Northumbrian (Lindisfarne Gospels), and Mercian (St. Petersburg Gospels) illumination.[1] The often floralized initials of the school of Corbie, which can be seen in manuscripts like the Codex aureus of St. Emmeran (pl.LXXXII c), the Sacramentary of Metz (pl. LXXXII d), the Gospels of St. Aure (pl. LXXXIII a), the Gospels of Colbert (pl. LXXXIII b), and the Claude Fauchet Gospels (pl. LXXXIII c), as well as the initials of the Tours Montier-Grandval Bible (pl. LXXXIV b), are even further removed from the art of the British Isles.

5. Interlace Ornament.

The Northumbrian manuscript school, which influenced the development of manuscript ornamentation at Trier-Echternach, was undoubtedly responsible for the introduction of certain types of interlace with loops, knots, or breaks, knotwork and corner knots, and interlace terminals, although some of the simple twists and knotwork may have continental sources. These would have spread from Trier-Echternach to the Ada group and other German schools. The movement of monks from Mercia and perhaps Canterbury, who went to Germany via northeastern France, the Low Countries, and the Rhineland, would account for the presence of Mercian elements at Salzburg, as well as those which occur in the Merovingian

[1] Zimmermann, pl. 223 ff, 321-326.

schools, in the Ada group, and in the Franco-Saxon manuscripts. The fact that the Northumbrian variety of interlace terminal tends to turn up in full Carolingian manuscripts at Corbie, St. Gall, and Tours, and not in Merovingian manuscripts, may indicate that they were products of a secondary diffusion from the Rhineland because they first occur in a developed form in Trier and Ada manuscripts. The knotwork motifs shared by Merovingian Corbie, Franco-Saxon, Trier-Echternach, and Ada manuscripts, which have both Northumbrian and Mercian-Canterbury affinities, may well be due to motifs common to all Island schools. Many of the interlace motifs at Tours could have been brought by Alcuin directly from the British Isles, or alternatively, he might have brought from the court of Charlemagne manuscripts with Island elements already modified by continental influences. On the basis of the tangled evidence derived from the comparison of interlace motifs we can only be sure of Northumbrian influence at Trier-Echternach and Mercian influence at Salzburg, and that Trier-Echternach exercised a predominate role in the formation of the Ada style. It seems probable that Corbie and St. Gall were influenced by Rhenish models with elements derived from the British Isles. While these models may have exercised some influence on the Franco-Saxon manuscripts, it was mainly under the influence of Mercia and Canterbury, to judge from its interlace, knotwork, and terminals. These elements probably represent survivals of motifs originally implanted in the

Merovingian schools of Corbie, Flavigny, and perhaps the northeast French schools, because they share common interlace elements.

Although the relationships of interlace motifs on the continent present a complex web of evidence, their immediate sources lie in the British Isles. These motifs can hardly have had a continental or immediate Mediterranean source in view of the absence of all complicated interlace work in French and Italian manuscripts before the mid-eighth century. The interlace elements which appear in the late Merovingian and Carolingian scriptoria, whither they were due to a Northumbrian, Mercian, or Canterbury influence or to a combination of all three, must be traced back ultimately to the interlacing ornament of Lindisfarne and Durrow.

The original sources of Islandi interlace ornament have long been disputed by scholars. While this is not the place to make another attempt to solve this intricate problem, it will be worth while to survey these theories. It is difficult to accept Brehier's theory[1] of an Irish origin or Baldwin Brown's concept[2] that all the ornament of the Hiberno-Saxon manuscripts except the floral scroll is derived from late Keltic and Germanic sources, because of the absence of developed interlace patterns in pagan Germanic art and the complete absence of interlace ornament in pagan Irish or even the first Christian Irish monuments. Romilly

[1] Bréhier, pp. 43 ff.

[2] Baldwin Brown, V, pp. 378 ff.

Allen's theory that Island interlace is derived from Lombardo-Byzantine art is too simple,[1] even though he allows for an unusual elaboration of interlace in the British Isles. Moreover he fails to take into account the analogies in Coptic manuscripts. Zimmermann,[2] pointing out the absence of interlace in early Irish art, holds that stylistically the interlace motifs of Irish manuscripts must be derived from Syrian and Coptic sources. The major problem arising from the theory of Oriental sources for Island manuscript interlace is the question of the route of transmission. As Masai[3] points out the Coptic interlace analogies, the Bawit and Saqqara paintings, the Syriac interlace analogies, the Rabula Gospels, are a century earlier than the earliest Island manuscripts. Although the Oriental type of interlace was uncommon in Italian and early Merovingian manuscripts, there are, according to Masai, interlacing designs from pagan artifacts in Anglo-Saxon graves, which indicate that interlace was elaborated by the Germans. Masai believes there was a German factor in the development of interlace and objects to any attempt to make the interlace pattern Irish or Keltic in origin. While Åberg[4] once held a similar theory, postulating that Coptic interlace was communicated through the Anglo-Saxon Kentish culture to

[1] J. Romilly Allen, Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times (1904), pp. 238 ff.

[2] Zimmermann, pp. 26 ff.

[3] Masai, pp. 72 ff.

[4] Nils Åberg, The Anglo-Saxons in England (1926), pp. 172 ff.

Keltic lands, more recently he has held that Anglo-Saxon and Irish as well as continental interlace go back directly to a common Coptic source. It would have been a question of each culture adapting this Oriental design,[1] and elaborating it according to its own artistic taste. Lexow, while recognizing the difficulty of differentiating Anglo-Saxon and Irish elements in knot interlacing, also ascribes the Irish interlace motif to direct Coptic influence.[2] Some scholars assume that interlace designs spread with Coptic bowls to Italy and then along the Rhine to England. In view of the other analogies between Irish and Northumbrian manuscripts and Coptic and Syriac manuscripts, such as the cross designs, dot contoured lines and letters, and color schemes, one must assume that the Coptic interlacing elements reached the British Isles through the medium of manuscripts, whatever the route. Henry[3] has pointed out and Kendrick[4] admits the debt of Keltic monasticism to Egypt. The open broad ribbon interlace of the Book of Durrow has obvious affinities with the interlace of late Coptic manuscripts, the sixth century Coptic book cover of the Morgan Collection[5], and the Coptic wall paintings of Bawit and Saqqara and the Syraic Rabula Gospels.

[1] Åberg, British Isles, pp. 96 ff.

[2] E. Lexow, "Hovedlinierne i entrelacornamentikkens historie", Bergens Museums Aarbok (1921-1922), pp. 9 ff.

[3] Henry, pp. 65 ff.

[4] Kendrick, pp. 101-2.

[5] Henry, p. 65.

Thus while the basic interlace designs came from the East Mediterranean through the medium of the manuscript, the interlace motif underwent characteristic elaboration in Irish and Northumbrian art.[1] Is it not possible that the transition from the wide ribbon-like interlace of the Book of Durrow to the fine thread-like interlace of the Lindisfarne Gospels represents the impact of Anglo-Saxon"filigree" interlace, such as can be seen on the buckle from Sutton Hoo and on Kentish jewellery.[2]

c. Zoomorphic Elements:

While the interlace had a fairly wide distribution among the Carolingian manuscript schools, zoomorphic motifs other than initial terminals with animal-head finials had an extremely limited currency in Carolingian manuscript illumination. They are restricted to the early metalwork and manuscripts of the Ada, Trier, Salzburg, and Francp-Saxon schools. Even in these

[1] Henry, pp. 65 ff. F. Henry, La sculpture irlandaise (1933), pp. 89 ff. Kendrick, pp. 101-2.

[2] The problem of the origin of interlace motifs in pagan Anglo-Saxon jewellery has been approached largely from two points of view Leeds, pp. 61-2, and Åberg, Lombard Italy, pp. 109 ff, and The Merovingian Empire pp. 65 ff assume that Style II zoomorphs and interlacing or the fashion of interlacing spread north from Italy to the British Isles. Kendrick, pp. 33, 84, 65-6, 101-3 on the other hand, suggests that while the twists and plaits of Roman provincial pavements and jewellery did not exercise a direct influence, the interlace knot motif could have evolved in the British Isles. It could have resulted from a Kentish jewellery technique in which the knot would have arisen from the translation of plait filigree into piece work or knotted filigree. This change in filigree would have been due to a Germanic factor. The interlace knot would have spread with the Ribbon style animal into early Irish ornament.

manuscripts they occur only in isolated examples, except among the manuscripts of the Franco-Saxon scriptoria.

The metalwork of the late eighth century and the first years of the ninth century, however, is dominated by zoomorphic ornament, which is displaced after the first quarter of the ninth century by the classizing tendencies of the day. As we have already seen the zoomorphs of the Enger reliquary and the cloisonné enamel zoomorphs of the older Lindau Gospel cover have excellent continental and Germanic sources. On the other hand, Island analogies may be found for the interlaced zoomorphs of the Kremsmünster chalice (pl. LXXXVII c-d), and the engraved interlaced zoomorphs (pl. XC a-d), and some of the cut-out appliqué zoomorphs (pl. LXXXIX a-d) of the older Lindau Gospel cover. The zoomorphs of the Kremsmünster chalice, which are designed to fit triangular and semi-circular spaces, have affinities with zoomorphs in such Mercian manuscripts as the Cutbercht Gospels (fol. 17b(pl. XCVII a), the later Rome Gospels (fol. 18a (pl. XCVII b), and the St. Petersburg Gospels (fol. 12b (pl. XCVII c).[1] Back of these Mercian motifs lie those of the Lindisfarne Gospels (fol. 12 a(pl. XCVII d, XCVIII a). The Lindisfarne zoomorphs and particularly their heads have a naturalism that is akin to that of the birds and beasts of the vine scrolls on the sculptured crosses. Nevertheless the spiral

[1] Kendrick, pp. 144 ff. Other unrelated types of animals on the later Mercian manuscripts were probably transformed by Carolingian influence which can be seen in the treatment of the body of the animal.

joints of the Kremsmünster, the Petersburg, and the Lindisfarne animals link them with the "ribbon style" zoomorphs of the Book of Durrow. The animal form in turn must be ultimately derived from the partly Roman and partly German animal forms of the fifth century Anglo-Saxon art. The linkage may be illustrated by comparing the Durrow zoomorphs (fol. 174 b (pl. XCVIII b)[1] with the animals on the Crundale sword hilt, the back of the Faversham brooch (pl. XCVIII c), and Romano-British pennannular brooches (pl. XCVIII d). The elaboration of zoomorphic elements taken over from Romano-British and provincial art by the Germans and the Kelts was characteristic of the Dark Ages.[2]

Similarly the engraved zoomorphs of the older Lindau Gospel cover (pl. XC a-d),[3] although they have undergone some floralization and simplification through their rendering in metal, have analogies in the Mercian Rome Gospels (fol. 11b (pl. XCVIX a), the Lindisfarne Gospels (fol 26b (pl. XCIX b), and the Book of

[1] Zimmermann, pl. 163 d.

[2] Kendrick, pp. 81 ff, pl. XXXIII 4, figs. 19, 17 iii.

[3] Brøndsted, pp. 150 ff regards the Kremsmünster chalice and the older Lindau Gospel cover as Abglo-Saxon works made by South English(Mercian) monks in Germany, on the basis of their loose careless rendering, peculiar triangular expansion of the body, and limbs running off into interlace. He compares them to the zoomorphs of the Cutbercht Gospels and Rome Gospels. While he regards these latter as imitations of Irish animal ornament, he points out that they like the zoomorphs of the Kremsmünster chalice and the older Lindau Gospel cover are ultimately Northumbrian. They would have, however, an immediate South English (Mercian) source. Picton, pp. 116 ff insists on a continental origin by pointing out that the process of floralization was not a monopoly of Anglo-Saxon Britain, but a tendency affecting art throughout the continent in Carolingian times.

Kells (fol 33a(pl. XCIX c). Behind these may lie ultimately the beast of the Book of Durrow (fol. 174 b (pl. XCIX d).[1] The cut-out appliqué zoomorphs (pl. LXXXIX a-b) have vague analogies with zoomorphs in the Lindisfarne Gospels (fol. 12 a (pl. XCVII d), while the more realistic figures of animals, which were also used as cut-out appliques on the book cover have, as has been shown, continental sources. The strangest of the older Lindau Gospel cover's zoomorphs (pl. LXXXIX c-d) are difficult to evaluate. They may well be later additions, even dating to the time of the seventeenth century restoration of the cover.

Zoomorphic elements played only a limited role in the illumination of Carolingian manuscripts, although they were used throughout the ninth century. Not all zoomorphs come from the British Isles. For example the Salzburg school offers one example, the fish lectern of the Evangelist page of the Kremsmünster Gospels, which can be interpreted as an elaboration of a Merovingian motif, in view of the wide use of fish ornament in Merovingian manuscripts.[1] The survival of Merovingian fish-bird lettering can also be seen in the Trier Kesselstadt Gospels (pl. XCI a).

Zoomorphic forms, such as elongated zoomorphs, animals with turned back heads or enrolled necks, birds, and bird and animal heads, can be traced to Island sources. They occur mainly

[1]Zimmermann, pl. 313a, 235, 177, 163 a.

[2]Compare Goldschmidt pl. 2 with Zimmermann, pl. 78.

in the manuscripts of the Trier-Echternach, Ada, and Franco-Saxon schools, where they have undergone extensive continental modifications. These make comparisons difficult and sometimes one can only resort to a general family likeness in seeking Island affinities and analogies. The two elongated zoomorphs of the Kesselstadt Gospels (pl. XCI b-c) can be traced along with other elements to Northumbria. They can be compared with those of the Echternach Cambridge Gospel Fragment (fol. 2a (pl. C a), the Lindisfarne Gospels (fol 13a (pl. C b),(fol. 90a (pl. C c), and perhaps the Book of Kells (fol. 33 a(pl. XCIX c).[1] There are no obvious Mercian or Canterbury analogies.

The animal heads serving as initial finials in the Trier Sta. Maria ad Martyres Gospels (pl. XCI d), the Ada Gospels of St. Martin (pl. XCII d), and the Franco-Saxon Gospels of Francis II (pl. XCIV b) have analogies in the Paris Hieronymus manuscript (fol 3b, pl. C d) of the Echternach school, the Lindisfarne Gospels (fol 5b (pl. CI a), and the Irish St. Gall Gospels 51 (fol 7 (pl. CI b). Related animal head finials can be cited from Mercian manuscripts like the St, Petersburg Gospels (fol. 18a (pl. CI c),(fol. 78a (pl. CI d).[2] The animal heads of the Wolfenbüttel Psalter (pl. XCIV d) and the Gospels of Francis II (pl. XCIB b) of the Franco-Saxon school might represent derivations of Mercian types.

[1]Zimmermann, pl. 259b, 229, 233, 177.

[2]Zimmermann, pl. 262a, 231, 187 b, 324, 326 a.

The animal with turned back head (pl. XCII a) and the animal enmeshed in interlace (pl. XCOO b), which occur on an initial from the Gospels of St. Martin reveal mixed Island influences on the Ada group.. Although these animals might be derived from those of the Canterbury Gospels of the British Museum (fol 4a (pl. CII a) or the St. Petersburg Gospels (fol. 18a (pl. CII b) of the Mercian school,[1] the enrolled animal (pl.XCII c) Of the Gospels of St. Martin is best compared with the zoomorph of the Book of Kells (fol. 33a(pl. XCIX c) and its relatives in the Northumbrian series. In any case the Ada form has undergone a great deal of continental elaboration. The bird figure (pl. XCIV a) of the Gospels of Francis II has, however, analogies in the Lindisfarne Gospels (fpl. 11a, 210b, 27a, 2b,(pl. CII c) and the Irish St. Gall Codex 1395 (fol. 426 (pl. CII d),[2] as well as in Canterbury and Mercian manuscripts like the Stockholm Codex aureus (fol. 6a (pl. CIII a) and the Cutbercht Gospels (fol. 111a, 166a).[3] Thus the bird and perhaps the animal figures of some Ada and Franco-Saxon manuscripts indicate a mixture of Northumbrian, Mercian, and Canterbury influences.

The animals with turned back or enrolled heads (pl. XCIII a,d,c),which occur in the Franco-Saxon Second Bible of Charles the Bald, have analogies in the Northumbrian Cambridge Gospel Fragment(fol. 2a (pl. C a) and the Lindisfarne Gospels

[1] Zimmermann, pl. 290, 324.

[2] Zimmermann, pl. 228, 238, 240, 234, 197b

[3] Zimmermann, pl. 280, 311-312.

(fol 13a, 12 a (pl. C b) as well as the Mercian Cutbercht Gospels (fol. 17b (pl. XCVII a) and the St. Petersburg Gospels (fol. 12b (pl. XCVII c).[1] The short snouted animal of the Second Bible of Charles the Bald (pl. XCIII b) may be compared with one on the Canon Table of the Mercian Cutbercht Gospels (fol. 19b (pl. CIII b), while the long beaked bird of the Gospels of Francis II may be contrasted with the bird head of the initial of the Lindisfarne Collectio Canonum (fol 2b (pl. CIII c) of Cologne.[2] Here again there is confirmation of the spread of Northumbrian influences along the Rhine and the impingement of Northumbrian Mercian, and Canterbury elements on the scriptoria of the Franco-Saxon school.

The zoomorphic initial terminal has a relatively wide distribution, occuring in the Ada group and at Fulda and St. Gall as well as in the minor schools of northwest and southern Germany. It also occurs in manuscripts of the Franco-Saxon school and occasionally in the manuscripts from Tours and Corbie The zoomorphic initials consisting of two in-turned animal or bird heads stemming from interlace organized about two or four knots occur in the Ada St. Martin-des-Champs Gospels (pl. CIV b) and the Harleian Gospels (pl. CIV d), the Fulda Ingolstadt Gospels (pl. CV b), and the Franco-Saxon Second Bible of Charles the Bald (pl. CVII c) and the Gospels of Francis II (pl. CVII d).

[1] Zimmermann, pl. 259 b, 229, 227, 297, 322.

[2] Zimmermann, pl. 304, 253 b.

While this variety of zoomorphic initial had its best analogies in the Beda historia ecclesiastica(fol. 94a (pl. CXII a) of the Canterbury school, it is also paralleled by an initial form the Lindisfarne Gospels (fol. 3a(pl. CXII b).[1] The type of zoomorphic initial with out-turned animal heads springing from an interlace pattern occurs in the Ada St. Martin-des-Champs Gospels (pl. CV a), the St. Gall Codex 367 (pl. CV d), the northwest German Maihingen Gospels (pl. CVI c), the Franco-Saxon Second Bible of Charles the Bald (pl. CVII a-b), the Gospels of St. Vaast (pl. CVIII b-c), the Egerton Gospels (pl. CIX d), and the Egmond Gospels (pl.CX a). Other examples of this second type of initial occur in the Bible of San Callisto (pl. CX b) and the Rodrade Sacramentary of the school of Corbie and the Raganaldus Sacramentary (pl. CX d) of the school of Tours. The second type of zoomorphic initial has its best analogies in the Lindisfarne Gospels (fol. 138b (pl. CXII c), (fol. 3a (pl. CXII d),[2] despite the various modifications made by the Carolingian illuminators. Related zoomorphic terminals which have birds' heads are found in the Trier Kesselstadt Gospels (pl. CIV a) and in manuscripts of the Franco-Saxon school, such as the Second Bible of Charles the Bald (pl. CVI d), the Gospels of St. Vaast (pl. CVIII a), the Sacramentary of St. Thierry (pl. CVIII d), the Psalter of Louis the German (pl. CIX a-b), and the Wolfenbüttel Psalter (pl. CIX c). The curious initial of the Ada

[1] Zimmermann, pl. 292 a, 239.

[2] Zimmermann, pl. 237, 239.

Martin-des-Champs Gospels (pl. CIV c) may for a varient of this group. The best analogies are again found in the Lindisfarne Gospels (fol. 90a (pl. CXIII a) and the Trier-Echternach Maihingen Gospels (fol. 127a (pl. CXIII b).[1] The same is true of the enrolled and floralized animal-headed initials of St. Gall ,like the one from the Wolfcoz Psalter (pl. CV c), and the double-ended zoomorphic pattern from the Ada-Rhine Köln Gospels (pl. CVI a), which can be compared with initials of manuscripts of the Lindisfarne group: the Berlin Salaberga Psalter (fol. 27b (pl. CXIII c) and the Lindisfarne Gospels (fol. 2a (pl. CXIII d).[2] On the other hand the initial from the south German Schäftlarn Gospels (pl. CVI b) has its best analogy in the Paris Gospels (fol. 137 a (pl. CXIV b) of the Canterbury school. A related initial, which was probably inspired by Canterbury, can be seen in the Trier Echternach Hieronymus Commentarius manuscript (fol. 3b (pl. CXIV a).[3]

It is difficult to find any Island analogies for the zoomorphic corner ornaments of the Trier Kesselstadt Gospels (pl. CXI a-c) and the characteristic corner ornament of the Franco-Saxon manuscripts, which is illustrated by an example from the Gospels of Francis II (pl. CXI d).

This survey indicates that the two major types of zoomorphic initial terminals in Carolingian manuscripts can be

[1] Zimmermann, pl. 233, 260 b.

[2] Zimmermann, pl. 250 a, 239.

[3] Zimmermann, pl. 285 c. 262 a.

traced back to Northumbria. While there is an occasional Canterbury analogy, the great majority of initials from Trier, the Ada group, and particularly the Franco-Saxon group have only Northumbrian analogies.

d. Spiral and Geometric Elements

Although geometric motifs are common in Carolingian illumination, very few have an Island origin. Most of these motifs are best explained in terms of continental sources. This is true of the square and diamond patterns of the St, Martin-des-Champs Gospels and related motifs of other Ada manuscripts,[1] as well as those of Corbie, which were used in the ornamentation of arcades, columns, and borders. Only the trumpet spiral and fretwork motifs have direct and obvious Island manuscript analogies.

Initial terminals and side ornaments composed of trumpet spiral patterns occur only in the Kesselstadt Gospels (pl. CXV a-d) of the Trier-Echternach school. They are unknown in other Carolingian manuscript schools. This motif can be traced through the Echternach Gospels (fol. 116a) and the Cambridge Gospel Fragment (fol. 2a) of the same school to the Book of St. Chad (fol. 143) and the Lindisfarne Gospels (fol. 27 a) of Northumbria, and ultimately to the Book of Durrow (fol. 111a), (Fig 39).[2] The same motif, which was to achieve such great

[1] Godescalc Gospels, St. Martin-des-Champs Gospels, St. Riquier Gospels, St. Médard Gospels, St. Denis Gospels, Lorsch Gospels, and the Psalter of Charlemagne have square and diamond motifs.

[2] Zimmermann, pl. 258 c, 259 b, 246 a, 240, 163 b.

A Page from Book of Durrow. Trinity College Dublin.

Fig. 39 Page from the Book of Durrow.

elaboration in the Book of Kells, can also be seen in the manuscripts of the Canterbury school such as the Stockholm Codex aureus (fol. 150b) and the London Psalter (fol. 30b) as well as in Mercian manuscripts like the Rome Gospels (fol. 80a, 18a).[1] The Trier-Echternach, Mercian, and Canterbury trumpet spiral patterns are obviously derived from Northumbria, from whence they can be traced via the Book of Durrow and ultimately to the enamel escutcheons of the Romano-British bowls such as those of Faversham and Lullingstone.[2]

The panels of fretwork, which occur on the Geneols-Elderen ivory diptych (pl. CXVI a), the Trier Sta. Maria ad Martyres Gospels (pl. CXVI b), the Ada St. Martin-des-Champs Gospels (pl. CXVI c), and the Ingolstadt Gospels (pl. CXVI d) of the Fulda school, have Island affinities. They can be matched with motifs from Northumbrian manuscripts such as the Book of St. Chad (fol. 221, (pl. CXVII a) and the Lindisfarne Gospels (fol. 210n (pl. CXVII b), and from the Book of Durrow(fol. 117b).[3]

[1] Zimmermann, pl. 283, 286 a, 315.

[2] Kendrick, pp. 48 ff, pl. XXVII 1-2, XXVIII 1, points out that the hanging bowl and its escutcheon ornament represents a continuation of the Roman bowl and the Romano-British enamel industry. Without going into the details of stylistic evolution, one must agree with Kendrick that the enamel bowl escutcheon ornament represents a resurgence of native taste set free by the Roman withdrawal. The perfected trumpet pattern, which swept the British Isles from the southern Midlands to the lands of the Irish and Scots, and appears in later manuscript art, was a Romano-British and not an Irish creation. See also. T.D.Kendrick, "British Hanging Bowls", Antiquity (1932), VI, pp. 161 ff, and Leeds, pp. 3, 7. For the theory of an Irish origin see Henry, pp. 36 ff.

[3] Zimmermann, pl. 246 b, 238, 164 b.

The Northumbrian motifs would have been the source for those of the Book of Kells (fol. 129b (pl. CXVII c), while the elaborated fretwork motif of the St. Petersburg Gospels (fol. 12b (pl. CXVII a) of the Mercian school[1] may also be derived from Northumbria.

A step pattern rendered in perspective occurs in the St. Denis Gospels of the Ada group and the St. Gumbert of Ansbach Gospels of Fulda. While it has analogies in the Stockholm Codex aureus (fol. 6a) this may well be the result of Carolingian influence on Canterbury.[2] This motif, which occurs in mosaic pavements, such as the one in the Roman villa at Rabat (Malta), is probably derived from Roman provincial art. On the continent it was distined to play an important role in Ottonian illumination[3] and in Romanesque mural painting in France.[4] The pelta motif, which occurs in the Godescalc Gospels (pl. CXVIII b), the St. Riquier Gospels, the St. Médard Gospels, the St. Denis Gospels, the Psalter of Charlemagne, and the Lorsch Gospels of the Ada school and the Ada inspired south German Schälflarn Gospels, must also be derived from Mediterranean sources.[5] Squares with geometric designs, such as those of the Ada St.

[1] Zimmermann, pl. 175, 322.

[2] Zimmermann, pl. 280.

[3] Picton, pl. LXVII 2, LXXI 2 for the Gospels of Otto III and the Lectionary of Heinrich II.

[4] L. Bréhier, Le Style roman (1941), pl. XXXVIII for fresco of Vicq (Indre).

[5] Clapham, pp. 66 ff, pl. 26 points out that the pelta pattern of the Breedon-on-the-Hill reliefs was inspired by continental sources.

Martin-des-Champs Gospels (pl. CXVIII c-d) and the Gospels of Lorsch (pl. CXIX a-b), have analogies in the Northumbrian Lindisfarne Gospels (fol. 94b (pl. CXX a),(fol.95a (pl. CXX b) and the Book of St. Chad (fol. 142 (pl. CXX c).[1] These motifs may well derive ultimately from Anglo-Saxon jewellery such as the buckles and clasps from Sutton Hoo (pl. CXX d), and the series of Kentish brooches.[2] The simple key patterns of the Ada Godescalc Gospels (pl. CXVIII a), the Corbie Codex aureus of St. Emmeran (pl. CXIX d), and the St. Gall Psalterium aureum (pl. CXIX c) have no obvious Island analogies. While the perppective step pattern, the pelta motif, and some of the square and diamond designs, which might reflect cloisonné and inset stone work, have continental Germanic or Mediterranean sources, the trumpet pattern, fretwork motifs, and some of the geometric designs have Northumbrian models, which may ultimately go back to Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon sources.

e. Figure Style

Figure work similar to that of the British Isles occurs only in the early Carolingian manuscripts, ivories, and metalwork, with one possible exception, the late ninth century Evangelium longum ivory from St. Gall. The style of the figures of the

[1] Zimmermann, pl. 236, 242, 246 a.

[2] For the Kentish jewellery see Kendrick, pl. XXXI. Again we must leave aside the controversy between Leeds and Kendrick over the dating of the Kentish brooches. For details see Kendrick, pp. 61 ff and "Polychrome Jewellery in Kent", Antiquity (1933), VII, pp. 429 ff. and Leeds pp. 41 ff.

Evangelists, Virgin,and Christ of the Enger reliquary, the Evangelists on the older Lindau Gospel cover, the figures of the Kesselstadt Gospels of Trier-Echternach, andeven some of the figures of the Echternach Gospels is characterized by staring eyes, stylized hair, and a linearly rendered drapery. This figure style has its best analogies in the Lindisfarne Gospels (fol. 24b, 93b, 137b,209b).[1] While the style of the figure work of the Echternach Hospels (fol. 18b) approaches the abstract and ornamental type of rendering of the human figure in the Irish Book of Durrow (fol. 245b),Book of Kells (fol. 28b), and St. Gall Gospels 51 (pag. 266),[2] the figure style of the later Trier manuscripts and metalwork has a Northumbrian quality. This stylistic relationship is reinforced by associated traits, such as the cruciform composition of the older Lindau Gospel cover, and the zoomorphic and interlacing patterns of the two Trier manuscripts, all of which point to Northumbria. The style of the figure work of the Kremsmünster chalice, and the Salzburg Kremsmünster Gospels, however, is like that of the Mercian Cutbercht Gospels (fol. 17b).[3] Again one can evoke associated traits, such as interlace patterns to reinforce this connection. On the other hand the figure work of the later Salzburg S.Johannes Chrysostomus, which is rendered in a more painterly fashion,

[1]Zimmermann, pl. 223, 224, 225, 226.

[2]Zimmermann, pl. 161a, 173, 188 b.

[3]Zimmermann, pl. 297.

has its closest affinities with the Evangelist of the Stockholm Codex aureus (fol. 150b) of the Canterbury school.[1] Although Northumbrian influence made itself felt in the figure work of Trier-Echternach, and the Mercian-Canterbury style affected Salzburg, the figure type behind the Ada Godescalc Gospels and the related Geneols-Elderen ivory cannot be entirely regarded as the product of Island influence. While some shholars have argued for an Island attribution, Laurent may be right in ascribing it to Oriental models. These would include East Christian manuscripts and paintings, particularly the Syriac Rabula Gospels and the Coptic paintings at Saqqara.[2] It must be remembered that East Christian elements, such as the Baldacchino page and the Evangelist types, played an important role in the formation of the Ada style and that of the later manuscripts of Trier-Echternach. The style of the late ninth century Evangelium longum ivory, which has stylistic affinities on the continent and in the British Isles, is difficult to assign to a specific source. It may well be that the basic similarities between the figure styles of Northumbria, Trier-Echternach, Mercia, Salzburg, and the Ada manuscripts and the Evangelium longum ivory are due to similar Oriental prototypes.

[1] Zimmermann, pl. 283.

[2] Laurent, pp. 33 ff, Dalton, pp. 282 ff, fig.173-176. The Enthroned Christ of the mural painting of St. Jeremias at Saqqara offers an almost exact parallel in all details to the Enthroned Christ of the Ada-Godescalc Gospels. Compare Dalton, fig. 175 with Goldschmidt, pl. 25.

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Conclusion

The influence of Northumbria, which made itself felt on the continent through the monastery of Trier-Echternach, played a restricted though important role in the ornamentation of Carolingian manuscripts. The comparison of patterns, motifs, and figure styles in these manuscripts with those of Northumbrian manuscripts indicates that the cruciform page, types of initials, many varieties of interlace ornament, and many zoomorphic and fretwork motifs found their way along with certain aspects of the figure style to Trier-Echternach and then into manuscripts of the Ada group. Many of the Island elements, such as the trumpet spiral pattern, many of the zoomorphic motifs, and other Island designs penetrated only into the first Trier-Echternach manuscripts. The Northumbrian, Mercian, and Canterbury varieties of interlace panels, borders, corner knots, and terminals and zoomorphic motifs occur in the late Franco-Saxon school. These motifs must include elements,which were common to Northunbria, Mercia, and Canterbury, making it difficult to determine the exact source. Mercian and Canterbury elements, which presumably were directly implanted at Merovingian Corbie and the schools of northeast France in the late eighth and early ninth centuries, may have survived into the manuscript illumination of Carolingian Corbie and the late ninth century Franc-Saxon manuscripts. Northumbrian elements probably reached these manuscripts only through secondary diffusion from the Rhenish schools of Trier-

Echternach and above all the Ada group,because they are rare in late Merovingian manuscripts. Mercian and Canterbury influence penetrated along the Rhine to leave its mark on the interlace panels and knotwork and terminals and zoomorphs of the Ada group. Mercian monks were to exercise their greatest influence in south Germany at Salzburg, where it is evident in the ornamentation of the Cutbercht and Kremsmünster Gospels. A few of the Northumbrian elements of Trier-Echterhach and the Ada group would have spread to Corbie and St. Gall. The limited interlace elements which occur in the manuscripts of Tours have Northumbria, Canterbury, and Mercian analogies. These are best explained in terms of Island manuscripts and Rhenish manuscripts under Island influence, which must have been brought to Tours by Alcuin.

In the later German schools,which were swept by the antique revival, Island elements played a decreasing role.Those which escaped extinction were transformed into the floralized or classicized forms such as those which played such an important role in the later manuscripts of Corbie and St. Gall. The original acceptance and subsequent elaboration of Island ornamental motifs on the continent depended upon artists already familiar with the traditions of the ornament of the once barbaric North. Such artists were found among the Germans rather than the descendants of the Gallo-Romans, whose taste for a representational Mediterranean art is manifest in the manuscripts of Metz,Reims, and Tours, which made little use of the Northern style of ornamentation.

CHAPTER V

LOMBARD ELEMENTS IN CAROLINGIAN ART

Influendes from Lombard Italy tended to dominate Carolingian sculpture and stucco , while, as we have seen, Island elements played a predominating role in early manuscript illumination, and Germanic elements in early metalwork. It was only natural that the Island monk, whose major medium was book illumination, should influence the manuscript art, while the German craftsmen with a long metalworking tradition should play a role in the creation of book covers, chalices, and reliquaries. In Italy, although sculpture had suffered a relapse during the dark seventh century under still barbaric rule, nevertheless, the techniques of architecture and sculpture must have survived and undergone a much earlier revival than they did in late Merovingian and Carolingian France and Germany. In the eighth and ninth century influences radiating from Lombard Italy swept northwards over the Alps and westward through southern France to influence the development of late Merovingian and Carolingian sculpture in stone and stucco.

The interlacing ornament which was widely used in Carolingian stone and stucco ornament consists of bands of two or three strands separated by grooves. It often dominated the ornament of capitals, pilasters, and panels made for the decoration of churches. The patterns fall into two major categories, aside from the casual use of interlace around rosettes

and other floral or geometric motifs. One type involves strips or panels of interlace with side loops, knots, and plaits, while the other is composed of interlocking circles crossed by bands or other circles of interlace.

The first type occurs widely throughout the Carolingian realm. It can be seen above some of the capitals at Germigny-des-Prés (pl. XXXIV a), where the interlace design consists of side loops linked by a single band.[1] A related form occurs at Sch'annis in Switzerland (pl. XXXVII a).[2] Interlace work based on braid or plait work is found on the ambon from Remainmôtier (pl. XXXVI b), on the columns from Mals (pl. XXXIX c), and on the panels from Sch'annis (pl. XXXVII b),[3] while knotted interlace patterns occur on the pilaster from Cravant (pl. XXXIV d), the panels from St. Germain d'Auxerre (pl. XXXV a-b), the panel from St Benigne of Dijon (pl. XXXVI a), and the panels of the Swiss churches of Chur (Coire),(pl. XXXVI c) and Sch'annis (pl. XXXVI d).[4] The second variety of interlace, based on interlocking circles, has a more limited distribution. It can be seen on the pilaster from Cravant (pl. XXXIV c), a panel of St. Rémi of Reims (pl. XXXV c), a panel from St. Goesmes (pl. XXXV d), and a panel from

[1] Haupt, fig. 54. Hubert, pl. XXXIX a.

[2] Rahn, pl. XI.

[3] Cabrol-LeClercq,"France", fig. 4681, Rahn, pl. XI. Picton, fig. 22.

[4] Enlart, fig. 57. Hubert, pl. XXXIX d, fig. 187. "Beschreibung der Domkirche von Chur", Mitteilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich (1857), XI, see plates, Rahn, pl.XI.

St. Martin of Angers (pl. XXXVII c), which probably dates to the Carolingian period. In addition there are interlocking squares of the stucco ornament of Münster in Switzerland.[1] Fragments of stucco interlace of both types occur at Zürich and Disentis, also in Switzerland.[2]

The distribution of the knotted and circular interlacing designs in northeast France, Alsace, Switzerland, and the Austrian Tyrol indicates that they may have come from Italy, where there are excellent earlier analogies. This need not be true of all the interlacing designs, for plait work and side loop motifs in interlace have possible Merovingian sources, while the circular interlace designs of northern France are paralleled by those in the Midi. Before examining the Italian analogies for the interlacing ornament of Carolingian stone and stucco, one must explore possible Merovingian sources for these latter designs in France (see Chart IX).

The side-loop patterns of Germigny-des-Prés and Sch'annis have their best analogies with the interlace designs on the much earlier panels of St. Peter of Metz, which are dated to the time of Dagobert and Arnulf of Metz in the seventh century. The Metz panels, whose ornament consists of a mixture of Germanic and Mediterranean elements manifest in its vine scroll and figure work, have interlacing designs formed of bands which often

[1] Enlart, fig. 57, Hubert, pl. XXXIX b, Cabrol-LeClercq, fig. 4666, Lasteyrie, figs. 214, 138.

[2] Stückelberg, op. cit.

terminate in animal head finials.[1] Their details may be compared with designs on the Frankish buckle from Marchelépot (Somme). the silver mount on the Anglo-Saxon drinking horn from Sutton Hoo, and the shield mount from Valsgarde in Sweden (Uppland).[2] Like these, which may be Germanic adaptations of Mediterranean motifs radiating from Lombard Italy, the Metz designs must represent a Germanic adaptation made north of the Alps and then amalgamated with fresh Mediterranean elements brought in by the Church. This motif in Carolingian art would be a natural legacy from Merovingian ecclesiastical sculpture of northern and eastern France.

The plait work of Remainmôtier, Mals, and Sch'annis, which can be paralleled in southern and central France on the fragment of a chancel panel from Volvic (Puy-de-Dôme) and on the border of the epitaph of Bernoin,Bishop of Viviers, Bourg St. Andeol (Ardiche),[3] can be derived from sources in France as well as in Italy. This type of plait work can be traced back to post-Roman church pavements, such as the floor pavements of the Baptistry of Valence in Provence (late fifth or early sixth century)[4] and ultimately to Roman provincial sources. The same is true of the twist motif, which occurs in the north on panels from St. Remi of Reims and St. Martin of Angers.[5] This motif

[1] Haupt, pp. 233-234, figs. 156-157, Lasteyrie, pp. 41-42. Åberg The Merovingian Empire , pp. 65 ff, figs. 25-26.

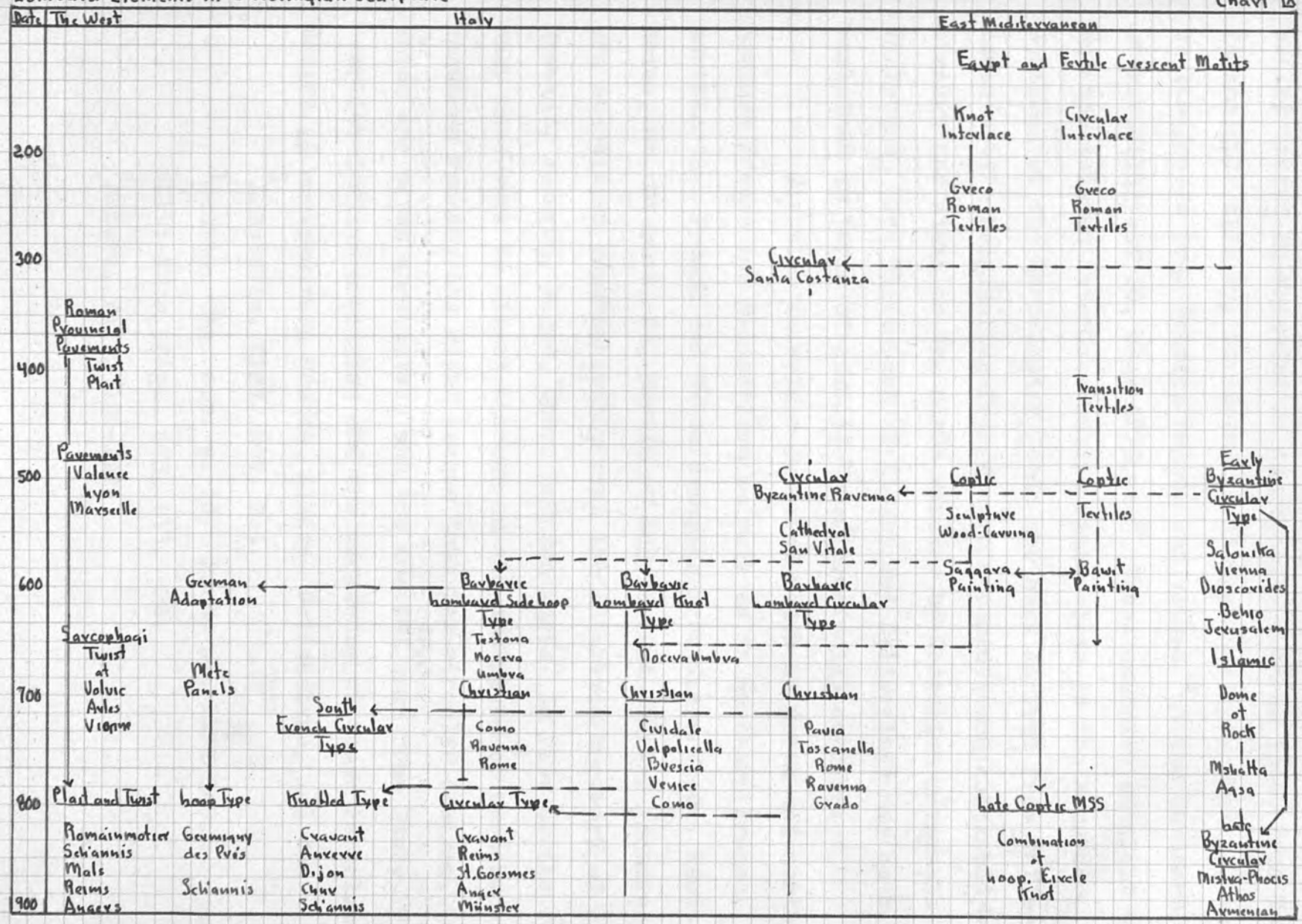
[2] Åberg, fig. 29, Kendrick, Sutton Hoo, fig. 9

[3] Lasteyrie, fig. 202, Hubert, pl. XXXIX h.

[4] Hubert, p. 4, pp.115 ff, fig. 125.

Lombard Elements in Carolingian Sculpture

Chart IX



can be traced on Merovingian sarcophagi, such as those from Geny (Aisne)(pl. XLII a), St. Saturnin at Toulouse (pl. XLII c),[1] and on the panels from Volvic, Arles, and Vienne [2] to the pavements of Marseille and St. Jean of Lyon.[3] These examples of plait work and the twisted interlace motifs which occur in the Romance portions of the Merovingian lands are best derived from Gallo-Roman motifs originating from mosaic pavements and continued through the sixth to the ninth century by Christian pavements and sculpture. The plait work of Alsace and Switzerland may be best explained in terms of similar Roman provincial sources.

Circular interlace patterns occur in north and northeastern France and Switzerland as well as in southern France. The northeastern French and Swiss examples from Cravant, St. Rémi of Reims, St. Goesmes, St. Martin of Angers, and Münster (squares) are associated geographically with the interlace knotwork of Cravant, Auxerre, Dijon, Chur, and Sch'annia. In view of the fact that knot work is almost unknown in the sculpture of western and southern France, one might assume that the circular designs, which are often associated, and the knotted interlace came from Italy. The earlier Italian analogies and the occurrence of these interlace motifs in northeastern France, Alsace, Switzerland, and the

[5] Lasteyrie, figs. 206, 214.

[1] Coutil, fig. opp. p. 36. Baum, pl. LXXI 188.

[2] Lasteyrie, figs. 202, 213, 210.

[3] Hubert, figs. 126-127.

Austrian Tyrol would indicate that they were transmitted northwards from Italy. The occurrence of circular interlace designs on panels and slabs from Vence(Alpes maritimes)(pl. XXXVII d), St. Pierre of Vienne (Isère)(pl. XXXVIII b), St. Guilhem-du-Desert, Marseille (Musée Borély)(pl. XXXVIII a), Arles(Musée), Le Puy (Musée)(pl. XXXVIII c), and Cimiez (Tomb of St.Pons)(pl. XXXVIII d),[1] show the popularity of the interlacing circular design in the Midi. These designs, like those in northeastern France and Switzerland, are dependent upon Italy. For example, the panel motifs of the Cathedral of Vence have ideal earlier analogies on panels from Ovieto, Ablengo, and Ste. Maria in Cosmedin at Rome.[2] Italian interlace with circular patterns may well have penetrated separately both into southern France and over the Alps through Switzerland to northeastern France. While there may be no connection between these latter circular designs and those in southern France, the floralized interlace work at Germigny-des-Prés (pl. XXXIX a) and on the balustrade panels from St. Martin of Angers,[3] which have no analogies in Switzerland and northeastern France, does have affinities with stylized floral scroll designs on panels from Aix-en-Provence, Vienne, Apt, Marseille, and Avignon. This particular interlace with its

[1] Lasteyrie, figs. 198, 210, Enlart, I, fig. 56, Lasteyrie, figs, 202,207,211, 213, Hubert, pl. XXXIII f,All these southern French panels and slabs are difficult to date. They have been assigned to both the Carolingian and Merovingian periods.

[2] Lasteyrie, p. 203.

[3] Hubert, pl. XXVII d. Lasteyrie, fig. 214.

floralization may thus go back through southern France to Italy, where the earliest analogies are to be found.[1]

Lombard Interlace

Lombard Italy[2] has excellent analogies for both varieties of Merovingian and Carolingian interlace. The panels, altar slabs, ambons, choir screens, and thrones of eighth and ninth century Italy have both the twisted, plaited, or knotted variety and the circular type of interlacing design. These belong to a decorative ornament which grew up during the peaceful period following the Lombard-Byzantine peace of A.D. 680. After a century of barbarism and strife which had followed the Lombard invasions there was a revival of architecture and sculpture. This Christian Lombard art, which was characterized by interlace designs and stylized flora, floral scrolls, and animal types, had its sources in late antique and Byzantine-Oriental art. The contribution of the Germanic art of the Lombard conquerors is difficult to define, but the taste of the Lombard rulers, who had become patrons of the Church, must have had its effect, even though the motifs and patterns they had brought from the North were completely transformed or displaced by the Mediterranean

[1] Lasteyrie, figs. 201, 205, 203, 215, 204, 212.

[2] A. Haseloff, Pre-Romanesque Sculpture in Italy (1930), Raffaele Cattaneo, Architecture in Italy (1896), Rivoira, Lombard Architecture (1933). I. E.A. Stückelberg, Langobardische Plastik (1909), E. Schaffran, Die Kunst der Langobarden in Italien (1941). Nils Åberg, Lombard Italy contain general discussion and statements on the dating of Lombard monuments of Italy.

art of the Church. The art of Lombard Italy made its influence felt, as we shall see, in the sculpture of southern France and of Switzerland, the Rhineland, and northeastern France.

The twisted, plaited, knotted, anc circular interlace patterns of northeastern France and Switzerland can be traced to Italy. The twisted motifs which occur on the panels of Reims and Angers can be compared with those of the panels of the Baptistry of Callistus (A.D. 737)(fig.40) at Cividale (pl. XLIIIb), the ciborium of S. Giorgio (A.D. 712) at Valpolicella, the sarcophagus of St. Felix in S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna (c. A.D. 725), and the later marble slabs from S. Marco (Venice), S. Abbondio (Como), and Spoleto.[1] The Lombard, south French, and north French twisted motifs probably all stem from local Roman provincial mosaics. The same is true of the plaited work of Remainmôtier, Mals, and Sch'annis in north France, Alsace, and Switzerland as well as that of Volvic and Bourg Saint Andéol in southern France, which can be traced back to Gallo-Roman plaited interlace used on Christian and pagan floor pavements in southern Gaul. The plait interlace of Lombard Italy has the same history. The Lombard plait work of the ciborium of St.Eleucadius (pl. XLIII c) (A.D. 806-810) in S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna; the ciborium of S. Giorgio (A.D. 712 ?) at Valpolicella; the stucco work of Santa Maria in Valle (A.D. 762-776) at Cividale; and the ninth century panel of San Pietro at Toscanella[2] goes back to the

[1] Åberg, figs, 8, 6, 10, 30, 33, 34, 35.

[2] Åberg, figs. 15, 6. Haseloff, pl. 49. Rivoira, fig.179.

pre-Lombard plait interlace of the capitals and choir screen of San Clemente (Rome)(pl. XLV b-c), which is dated to A.D. 514-523.[1] Behind this lies the plaited patterns of Roman provincial floor pavements which are found from Syria (Antioch) through Anatolia (Pergamon)(pl. XLVIII d), Greece, Dalmatia, Italy, and France to the British Isles (Leicester)(pl. XLVIII c).[2]

While the plait and twist motifs may represent logical elaborations of Roman provincial floor pavement motifs, the side looped interlace of Germigny-des-Prés and Sch'annis has a more complicated history, for as has been shown it can be traced through the Christian panels of Metz to Germanic usage in the decoration of artifacts. The side-looped interlace motif also occurs in both Christian and barbaric context in Italy. It can be seen on barbaric Lombard material from Testona and Nocera Umbra and on Christian Lombard sculpture such as the marble slab from S. Abbondio at Como, the panel from S. Giorgio at Rome, and on the ciborium of St. Eleuchardius in S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna.[3] In view of its older usage in Greece and on Syro-Cappadocian and Hittite seals, its ultimate source cannot be Germanic.[4] It was something taken over and elaborated by the

[1] Haseloff, pl. 42, Åberg, fig. 1.

[2] Taylor and Cott, pl. 1 ff. Kendrick, pl. XIX 1.

[3] Åberg, figs. 87 2-4, Petrie, Decorative Patterns of the Ancient World (1930), pl. XLI D9, D12. Åberg, fig. 35.

[4] L. Delaporte, Catalogue des cylindres orientaux, Musée du Louvre (Paris, 1920-23), II, pl. XCVI 24. and Catalogue des cylindres orientaux du Musée Guimet (Paris, 1909), 649.

Germans of the Migration age.

The interlace motif with knots or breaks apparently appealed only to peoples with an abstract ornamental style for in the west of Europe it is found only in the British Isles, north-eastern France, the Rhineland, Switzerland, and Italy. It is absent in western and southern France, where the population was descended from the Gallo-Roman provincials. This variety of interlace, which occurs mostly within the Germanic portion of the Carolingian empire on monuments from Cravant, Auxerre,Dijon, Chur, and Sch'annis, can be traced to Italy, where it occurs not only on eighth and ninth century Christian Lombard sculpture, but also on seventh century pagan Lombard artifacts. Analogies for the Carolingian work are presented by the motifs of the stucco work of Santa Maria in Valle (pl. XLII d) at Cividale, the panel of the Baptistry of Callistus (pl. XLIII a) at Cividale (fig. 40), the ciborium of S. Giorgio (pl. XLIII d) at Valpolicella, the ambon of S. Salvatore at Brescia, and the marble slabs of S. Marco (Venice) and Como.[1] Interlace with knots or breaks is found on barbaric Lombard materials from Nocera Umbra and other sites.[2] but it is always simpler and more crudely rendered than that of the ecclesiastical sculpture. Although its origin is not Germanic, as will be shown later, interlace with knots and breaks does not occur in Italy before Lombard times.

[1]Åberg, figs. 20, 8, 14, 30, 29.

[2]Åberg, fig. 91.

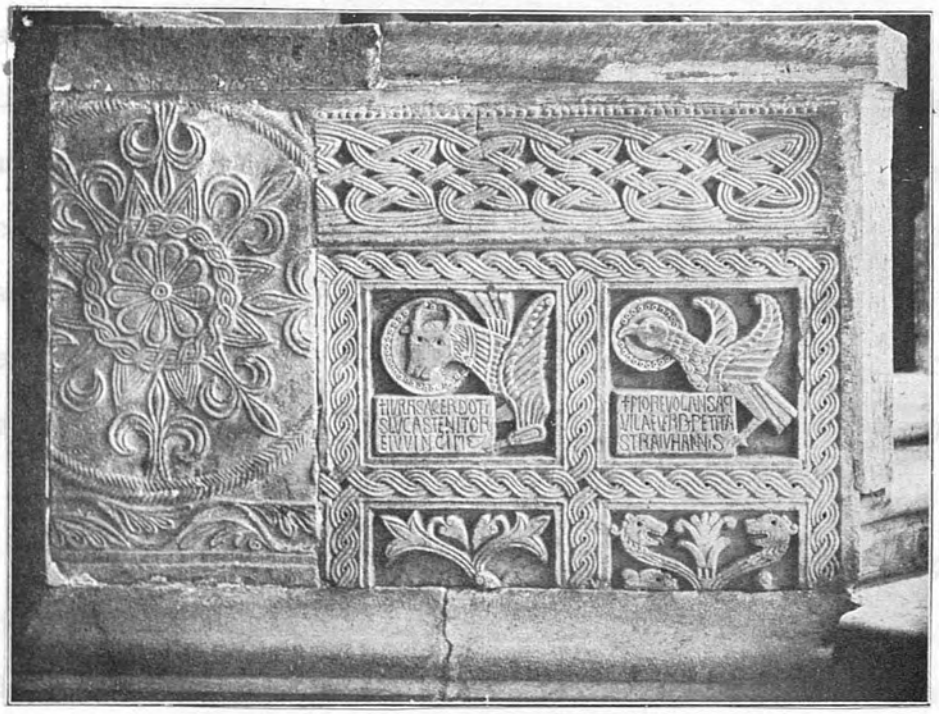


Fig. 40 Panel of the Baptistry of Callistus, Cividale.

The interlace which has patterns based on circular designs was elaborately developed in Lombard Italy. The circular interlace patterns of Cravant, St. Goesmes, and Reims, as well as those of southern France from Vence, St. Pierre of Vienne, St. Guilhem-du-Désert, Marseille, Arles, Le Puy, and Cimies must have been inspired from Italy. They can be matched by the more varied circular and even square interlace patterns of Lombard Italy. Parallels are offered by the designs on the ciborium of St. Eleuchardius in S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna (A.D. 806-810) and on the panels of Santa Sabina (pl. XLIV c) at Rome, and the panels from Aquileja (pl. XLIV b).[1] The interlace designs from the marble slabs from Santa Maria in Trastevere (Rome), the ambon at Grado, the altar slab at Ravenna, the panel of Santa Maria in Valle at Cividale, the panel of San Pietro of Toscanella (A.D. 731), and Santa Maria in Aventino at Rome exhibit squares and circles enclosing floral motifs, crosses, and other motifs.[2] There are related examples from the church at Aquileja (pl.XLIV a) and the choir screen of Santa Sabina at Rome (pl. XLIV d).[3] The choir screen of the cathedral of Ravenna (pl. XLV a), which has both interlacing squares and circles, the marble slab from San Vitale at Ravenna which has interlaced squares, and the capital from San Vitale which has interlaced circles, indicate that this

[1] Åberg, fig. 15, Haseloff, pl. 61, 60, Haupt, fig. 93.

[2] Åberg, figs 18-19, 25, 3-4, Rivoira fig. 178. Haseloff, pl. 59.

[3] Haupt, fig. 93. Haseloff, pl. 60.

type of interlacing design goes back to the Byzantine occupation of Italy.[1]

The floralized interlace designs of Germigny-des-Prés and Angers can be traced through the highly stylized floral scrolls of Aix, Vienne, Marseille, Avignon, and Apt to Italy. Here stylized floral scrolls can be seen on the sculptured panels and slabs of S. Maria Nuovo, S. Prassede, Santa Maria in Aventino, and Santa Sabina, all at Rome.[2] These scrolls can be traced back to late antique sources such as the naturalistic floral scroll work of the Clitimus Temple near Trevi.[3] Intermediate steps are shown by the scrolls of the Apostle and Theodore sarcophagi of San Apollinare in Classe and the choir screen of San Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna.[4] The stylization of the antique floral scroll, which culminated in the highly stylized floral scrolls of the Midi and those of Germigny-des-Prés and Angers, began with the Orientalizing influences which gradually changed the character of Italian art after the age of Constantine.

This brief survey thus indicates the pre-Lombard character of twisted, plaited, looped, and circular forms of interlace in Italy. The elaboration of the circular type of interlace and the introduction of interlace with knots and breaks date to the Lombard age when they are first exhibited in designs

[1] Åberg, figs. 4, 3, 2.

[2] Åberg, figs. 16-17. Haseloff, pl. 59-60.

[3] Haseloff, pl. 25.

[4] Haseloff, pl. 33, 36.

on barbaric artifacts and then clearly manifested by the Christian Lombard sculpture of the eighth and ninth centuries.

Although the origins of all interlace designs have long been subject to controversy, the sources of interlace characterized by knots and breaks has aroused the greatest controversy.[1] On the basis of evidence already presented the group of scholars, including Herbert Kühn, Picton, Haupt, Stückelberg, and Lasteyrie believe that interlace with breaks was the creation of Germans dwelling in Middle Europe. The all, except Lasteyrie,[2] believe it was introduced into Italy by the invading Lombards. Lasteyrie holds that the sculptured varieties came in with the Frankish conquest of Italy. These theories accept a flow of artistic ideas from North to South which runs counter to the whole concept of the diffusion of Mediterranean elements through the Merovingian West. In view of the fact that earlier antecedents of interlace with knots and breaks occur in Lombard Italy and, as will be shown, in the East Mediterranean area, one must accept the theories advanced by Åberg, Zeiss, and Leeds that this form of interlace was probably first adapted by the Lombards from Mediterranean sources in Italy and then diffused northwards to the Germans beyond the Alps. The Lombard adaptations of Mediterranean designs can be seen on the metalwork, such as the plaque of the Kaiser

[1] For summaries of these theories see earlier sections of this thesis and lists and discussions with full bibliographies given by Holmqvist, pp. 16-17, and Henry La Sculpture irlandaise p. 91, and Haseloff, pp. 44 ff.

[2] Lasteyrie, pp. 209 ff.

Friedrich Museum (pl. XLVI d), while north of the Alps German adaptations of Lombard or Mediterranean designs can be seen on the buckles of the Alemanni (pl. XLVI b), and even on Scandinavian sword hilts (pl. XLVII b) and plaques (pl. XLVII a). The plaited and twisted designs used by the Lombards (Castel Trosino plaque, pl. XLVI a), Alemanni (Wittislingen plaque, pl. XLVI a), Anglo-Saxons (Franks casket, pl. XLVII a), and even the Goths (Szilágy-Sómlyó brooch, pl. XLVII d).[1] must on the other hand represent earlier adaptations of Roman provincial designs.

In Italy barbaric Lombard art was gradually transformed under the impact of Christian Mediterranean art. The mixture of Mediterranean and Germanic elements is well illustrated by the juxtaposition of barbaric and Mediterranean motifs on the sword scabbard and plaques from Castel Trosino.[2] While German arts and crafts exercised no influence on sculpture which is traceable in motifs, German taste with its love of abstract ornamental forms and the elaboration of simple themes must have played its part in the stylistic development of sculptured ornament in Italy. While interlacing patterns with knots existed in earlier Mediterranean art, it was only after their contact with German taste that they evolved into the elaborate patterns characteristic of Christian Lombard sculpture of the eighth and ninth centuries. One cannot

[1] Åberg, fig 84 2. Salin, figs 575, 586. Behn, pl.23,33. Smith, pl. VIII, Baldwin Brown, Arts and Crafts of Our Teutonic Forefathers, pl. XXVIII 112.

[2] Behn, pl. 23.

Eastern Mediterranean Interlace

The interlace with knots or breaks, which does not occur in Italy before Lombard times, and the interlacing circles and squares, which were not popular before the Byzantine phase at Ravenna, find their only explanation in terms of Eastern Mediterranean sources. One cannot accept Cattaneo's theory that the sculptured interlace was a product of the impact of Byzantine elements introduced by Greek artists fleeing from Iconoclasm, because it appears earlier in Italy, and , in any case, interlace is not a fundamental element in the Byzantine art complex. Nevertheless in view of its associations with Byzantine Ravenna the circular type of interlace may well have been implanted in Italy during the Byzantine occupation of the sixth century. On the other hand the interlace with knots or breaks might have been brought to Italy a century later by churchmen who fled from the Eastern Mediterranean following the Arab conquests of Syria in A.D. 637 and Egypt in A.D. 641. It could alternatively have come earlier with the movement of trade from the east, which would also account for the Coptic bowls occuring at La Grazza (Tarragona) in Spain, in Italian Lombard sites, in Rhenish finds in Germany, and in Anglo-Saxon graves in England. The movement of monks, pilgrims, and traders as well as the flight of East Mediterranean churchmen from the Moslems offers an adequate mechanism for the diffusion of interlace with knots or

[1] Cattaneo, pp. 78 ff.

breaks to Italy and the West during the sixth and seventh centuries.

The circular interlace patterns which played such an important role in Lombard Italy, occur earlier in Byzantium, Syria, and Egypt. The earliest extant examples of these patterns are found on the Greco-Roman textiles from third to fifth century Egypt. Interlaced circles, squares, and hexagons can be seen on the textiles from Akhmîm and elsewhere in Egypt. Examples are to be found in the Victoria and Albert Museum,[1] the Louvre, the Wallraf-Richartz Museum of Köln, and the Kunstgewerbes Museum of Düsseldorf.[2] While this motif continues on the textiles of the transitional fifth century, such as the tapestry and wool textiles of the Victoria and Albert Museum, [3] the later truly Coptic textiles of the sixth to eighth centuries have few real circular or square interlace designs. They may well have undergone a stylization, similar to that which converted the twist motif of the earlier textiles into a series of dots. The circles, squares, or hexagons of the Coptic linen textiles, such as the one of the Victoria and Albert Museum survive as separate entities joined by roundels.[4]

[1] A.F. Kendrick, Catalogue of Textiles from Burying Grounds in Egypt, I. Graeco-Roman Period (1920) No. 56, 150.

[2] Holmqvist, fig. 20, pl. X 1-2.

[3] A.F. Kendrick, Catalogue of Textiles from Burying Grounds in Egypt, II, Period of Transition and of Christian Emblems (1921), No. 308, 535.

[4] A.F. Kendrick, Catalogue of Textiles from Burying Grounds in Egypt, III, Coptic Period (1922), No. 626.

Interlaced circular designs were also used in the fourth century mosaics of Santa Costanza at Rome and they occur in the decoration of the church of St. George at Salonika, in the ornament of the Juliana Anicia medallion of the sixth century Vienna Dioscorides, on the lintel from Béhio in Syria, and on the sixth century Orpheus mosaic pavement at Jerusalem.[1] The widespread distribution of this motif in Egypt, Syria, Byzantium, and Italy and its absence in earlier ornament of Italy and the West indicates its probable source in the Eastern Mediterranean area. While it could have been implanted in Italy during the fourth century at the time of Santa Costanza, it seems not to have been widespread until the Byzantine phase at Ravenna.

In the East interlaced circular designs continued to play an important role in architectural decoration. In Byzantium and Greece, they occur for example on the tenth century closure slab from Mistra, the eleventh century mosaic pavements of the church of St. Luke at Phocis, and the late Byzantine slabs from Mount Athos.[2] The latter works show an increasing stylization which separates them artistically from the interlace of Lombard Italy and the West. In Syria, where the development of Christian art was cut short by Moslem conquests, interlacing ornament based on a circular pattern survived and was exploited in Umayyad and Abbasid art. It can be seen on the bronze beam mounts from

[1] Diehl, fig. 19, Petrie, pl. XLV j4, Diehl, fig. 108, Diehl, fig. 12, Dalton, fig. 247.

[2] Dalton, figs. 35, 251, Lasteyrie, figs. 218-219.

from the Dome of the Rock (Jerusalem), in the sculptured ornament of Mshatta, and on the mid to late eighth century wood panels of the Aqsa Mosque (Jerusalem).[1] In Egypt, while it played a decreasing role in textiles, it occurs as an ornamental element in the paintings of Bawit (pl. XLVIII a),[2] although as in later Coptic manuscripts it is often combined with loop and knot work.

The interlace with knots or breaks of the Eastern Mediterranean area is largely restricted to Egypt. Knotwork patterns are found on the third to fourth century textiles from Akmîm and on textiles in the Staatliche Museum (Berlin) and the Louvre.[3] They also occur on Coptic stone sculpture and wood carving in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Berlin) and in architectural ornament at Oxyrhynchos.[4] Interlace with knots, however, is best illustrated by the example on the band (pl. XLVIII b) below the row of angels in one of the mural paintings of the monastery

[1] Creswell, pp. 42 ff, 350 ff. assigns an Umayyad date to the Dome of the Rock and Mshatta. See G. Marçais "The Panels of Carved Wood in the Aqsā Mosque at Jerusalem", in Creswell, II pp. 126, figs. 140, 123. Åberg, Lombard Italy, figs, 51-55, 63-64, 66-68. pp. 62 ff, writes that one must follow the theories of Riegl, Herzfeld, and Lexow and assume a Mediterranean origin for the interlacing designs. He rejects Strzygowski's theory of an Iranian origin, because interlace is absent in Persia in early times. Whatever may be the case it must be pointed out that interlace was probably current throughout the Near East in late antique times. The major areas for its development were probably Egypt and the Fertile Crescent. While the knotted interlace tended to be Egyptian, the circular type may well have been concentrated in Syria. It could have spread from the Fertile Crescent to Sassanian Persia and Armenia as well as to Byzantium, Italy, and the West.

[2] Åberg, fig. 75, Masai, pl. LI 5, Diehl, fig. 21.

[3] T.D. Kendrick, I, No. 8, 51, 277. Holmqvist, fig. 37, 51

of St. Jeremias at Saqqara.[1] The interlace of this sixth or seventh century painting and the interlaced pattern formed of knots combined with interlocking circles which occurs on the Coptic frescoes of Bawit lead naturally to the stylized interlace of the later Coptic manuscripts such as those of the Vatican (MSS. 66, 59).[2] Despite the occurrence of rudimentary knots outside Egypt on the pre-sixth century mosaics of the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem,[3] the complicated interlaced knots of the paintings and manuscripts must have evolved in Coptic Egypt, where all forms of interlacing have a long history of development. Furthermore Åberg may be right in the suggestion that the knotted type of Coptic interlace, which found its way into wall paintings and even more important, into the portable manuscript, was carried westward to Italy by Egyptian monks in the sixth century. At Bobbio and other Italian monasteries they would have passed it on not only to local sculptors and Lombard metalworkers, but to Irish monks, who would have carried Coptic manuscripts and their basic interlace designs back to Ireland. The Coptic manuscript, which had interlace and other designs, would have formed one of the essential sources of the Durrow Style. This theory of the influence of Coptic Egypt on Italy and the West is further reinforc-

[4] Holmqvist, pl. VIII 1-3, figs. 84, 91.

[1] Dalton, fig. 176.

[2] Masai, pl. LVII 1-2. Åberg, British Isles, figs. 13, 70, 71.

[3] Åberg, Lombard Italy, fig. 72 1.

ed by the flood of Egyptian trade articles during the sixth and seventh centuries and by therole of Egyptian monksin the formation of Western monasticism.[1]

Conclusion

Interlace ornament, which occurs in Egypt, Syria, Greece, Italy, Switzerland, southern and northern France, western Germany, the British Isles, and Saandinavia, underwent its own particular stylistic development in keeping with the local artistic outlook. Simple interlace twists and plaited designs, which were popular as designs on Roman provincial and Christian floor pavements, continued through the Merovingian period into Carolingian times. The designs of Roman provincial pavements were the source for the twisted and plaited designs not only of the slabd of Angers, Reims, Romainmôtier, Mals, and Sch'annis, but those of southern France and Italy. The circular interlace motif, which was common in the ornament of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Byzantium, probably first reached Italy at the time of the Santa Costanza mosaics, although it was not widespread until the Byzantine occupation of the sixth century. Once firmly established in Italy the interlaced circles and squares were gradually elaborated by the stone mason and sculptor until the more complex designs of the eighth and ninth centuries were arrived at. On the other hand the interlace motif with knots or breaks, which seems to have had its origin in Egypt, probably

[1]Åberg, pp. 109 ff.

spread to Italy and the West in the sixth century with the movement of monks, pilgrims, and traders, and then in the seventh was carried further by the Christians fleeing before the invading Moslems. In Italy during the late sixth and seventh centuries all forms of interlace were adapted by the Lombards for their metalwork and used as a basis for the composition of their zoomorphic designs. The barbaric Lombard designs or the principle of interlace probably spread northwards into the Germanic world. With the revival of sculpture and architecture upon the return of peaceful conditions after the century of disturbances which had followed the Lombard invasion of Italy, these interlacing designs along with a host of other East Christian and Oriental motifs, appear on sculptured slabs and panels. The knotted and circular patterns of Lombard sculpture, the style of which must have been conditioned by local Italian taste and influenced by German patronage, spread northwards through the Alpine passes to Mals, Disentis, Sch'annis, Münster, and Chur in Switzerland and then into eastern France to Cravant, Auxerre, Dijon, and St. Goesmes. It is interesting to note again that while circular designs spread independently to both southern France and north-eastern France, the knotted interlace design tended to be adopted only in lands settled by Germans and Kelts.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

The barbaric elements which occur in Carolingian art are overshadowed not only by the antique revival style, but by the ecclesiastical arts which evolved from Merovingian types with roots in the early Christian art of the West, and by the artistic elements borrowed from Byzantium and the Orient. Almost all of the art which has survived from the ninth century is dominated by Mediterranean forms because of the very character of the patronage. Few barbaric elements are thus to be found in the church architecture, the later ecclesiastical metalwork, the ivory carving, the mural paintings, and the full Carolingian manuscripts. In stone sculpture in stone and stucco, in the earlier metalwork, and in the initials and ornamental work of the manuscripts, barbaric elements are on the other hand to the fore. They must have been even more numerous on minor metalworks and ivories intended for secular usage, but few examples of these have come down to us.

In stone and stucco sculpture most of the barbaric elements must be ascribed to Lombard influence and to German taste in Italy which transformed Mediterranean patterns into forms which were acceptable in Switzerland, Alsace, and northern France. The frankly barbaric elements which do occur in metalwork, manuscript illumination, and a few of the ivories must be ascribed to the survival of craft techniques and motifs preserved by German craftsmen or introduced by Island monks. These techniques

and motifs, which are almost always restricted to early Carolingian works or to ornament without functional importance, can only be explained on the basis of the persistence of Steppe, Germanic, and Keltic artistic elements in the hands of converted barbarians who had entered the monastery ateliers during the Merovingian age. Although most of these barbaric survivals or Island borrowings disappeared from full Carolingian art under the impact of the antique revival style, barbaric taste continued as a factor in the art of the German portion of the empire. This German taste was ultimately the major factor which differentiated the arts of the Germanic areas from those of the Romance areas, where a deep-rooted Mediterranean feeling dominated creative activities in the arts.

The status of barbaric elements in Carolingian art is well illustrated by church architecture, which developed within the framework of Western Christian art. The plans and constructional techniques of Carolingian architecture provide no evidence of barbaric influence; they were based almost entirely upon a Mediterranean legacy. Although some scholars have sought to use the horseshoe arch and the triangular-headed arcade as evidence of Germanic influence on the architecture of the Dark Ages, it has been shown that the former must be regarded as an elaboration of East Mediterranean types borrowed through Visigothic Spain, while the latter may well go back to Roman provincial prototypes, even though its ultimate source may be wood architecture. The

strength of the Roman Mediterranean tradition is further shown by the fact that Charlemagne preferred the square fortification based on the Roman camp rather than the traditional Germanic hill top fort.

It was, as one would expect, that barbaric influence made itself felt in ornament rather than structure and form, since these were in most cases determined by the needs of the patron, the Church. While the barbarian converts who worked in the monastery ateliers could hardly change the traditional Mediterranean system, they could express their artistic taste in details of ornament and in occasional modifications of form. Furthermore they were able to exercise greater influence in the essentially minor arts of metalwork, ivory carving, and manuscript illumination than architecture, although even here cloisonné-like and Kerbschnitt-like effects in pattern work, such as that of Distré and St, Samson, are probably due to barbaric influence. In ivory carving, for example, an art which reappeared as a part of the revival of the antique, Northern taste comes out in the ornamental surface composition and the over-elaboration of the frame ornament, despite the fifth and sixth century models in the late antique manner. In sculpture most of the monuments, such as the doors and balustrades of Aix-La-Chapelle and the architectural ornament from Flavigny, Auxerre, Germigny-des-Prés, and even Ingelheim on the Rhine, are in the antique tradition. Nevertheless a preference for knotted interlace designs in stone, which came

from Lombard Italy along with circular interlace patterns, occurs in the German and not the Romance areas of the Carolingian realm, as is indicated by the distribution of such designs in northeast France, Alsace, and Switzerland. The first ornamental elaboration of the Mediterranean knotted and circular interlace patterns was brought about by the Northern taste of the German Lombards.

The abstract ornamental taste and the techniques and motifs of the art of the barbarians, however, found their greatest expression in metalwork and manuscripts, although both of these minor arts were based upon models not only traditional within the Church, but derived from Mediterranean and Eastern sources. Furthermore these models had already undergone considerable modification in the course of their transmission. In the minor art, while the Germans with their legacy of Migration craftsmanship played the greatest role in metalwork, the Island monks with a training in manuscript illumination going back to the mid-seventh century made a major contribution to the ornamentation of the Carolingian manuscripts.

The German craftsmen who entered the service of the Church now used their traditional techniques of inset stone work, cloisonné, and filigree to adorn altars, book covers, reliquaries, and chalices. These techniques, as we have seen, were borrowed from the Sarmatians of the Pontic steppe and the artisans of the Greco-Pontic cities. The techniques of inset stone and cloisonné, which have a long history on the steppe going back ultimately

through Iran to the Near East, and filigree, which was derived through the Greco-Pontic cities from Greece and the Mediterranean world, had been in German hands for over five hundred years. During this period in which they were passed along from the Goths to the West Germans the techniques were transformed and adapted first to the making of jewellery suitable to Germanic taste and finally to the creation of metalwork for the Church. While the German techniques, which could be used to express any artistic form, survived to play an important role in Carolingian metalwork, few Germanic motifs persisted aside from the Kerbschnitt designs and the S-shaped and bird zoomorphs of the Enger reliquary, which as we have seen, go back through Migration art to the Animal Style of the steppe. The animal motifs of the older Lindau Gospel cover such as the griffin and the duck represent late borrowings from the Orient, which came via Italy. While the griffin probably came through the late Migration culture and was subjected to German modification before it reached Carolingian art, the duck motif may well represent a direct borrowing from the Mediterranean area. Aside from these motifs, which are restricted to metalwork dating from the first phase of Carolingian art, there are only the imitations of inset stone work and occasional simulations of cloisonné which were used on borders of manuscript pages. Even here some of the inset stone imitations may have been suggested by the borders of Byzantine mosaics.

Demonstrable Germanic influence is almost entirely

restricted to ecclesiastical metalwork. While the sequence of Carolingian metalwork shows the final displacement of the Tierornamentik of the Migration age, which had already begun to wane with the conversion of the Germans in the late seventh century, the old techniques continued, although they were transformed to meet the artistic demands of the antique revival. The flat cloisonné work only survived in the decoration of the Enger reliquary and the older Lindau Gospel cover, while the simple setting for stones became increasingly elaborate, being finally ornamented with minute arcades, acanthus, and palmette motifs. Filigree turned to imitating floral scrolls, and in the end it was often displaced by a plastic repoussé representation of floral devices. The development of metalwork shows how the still barbaric and Germanic style of the Enger reliquary, the Kremsmünster chalice, and the older Lindau Gospel cover gave way before the antique and Mediterranean elements in the later Milan altar antependium, and the Codex aureus and Lindau Ashburnham covers. Metalwork from the end of the ninth century, such as the portable altar of Arnulf and the St. Gall Evangelium longum cover, show the triumph of completely plastic ornament dominated by floral devices.

While Germanic influence made itself felt in metalwork, Island art exercised a considerable influence on manuscripts. This difference of influence, as has been pointed out, resulted simply from the fact that while the Germans possessed a metalwork

tradition, they did not possess a manuscript art until the late eighth century. This art was introduced among the Germans by missionary monks from Gaul and above all from the British Isles. The Anglo-Saxon monks, whose missions began with the work of St. Boniface among the Germans, brought a renewal of Northern elements for in Britain although manuscript illumination was based on Mediterranean and Oriental models, it preserved in a modified form many ornamental elements rooted in Romano-British, Keltic, and Anglo-Saxon art. While Island influences, did not widely affect the continental art of illumination in the older scriptoria located in the Romance areas, they made a profound impression on the manuscript art which sprang up in the lands settled by the Germans. The Germans accepted the Island elements brought from Northumbria and Mercia and by Canterbury monks because they all shared a similar concept of art as an abstract ornamental creation.

While the manuscript style of Northumbria was implanted at Trier-Echternach, the Mercian style penetrated through the Low Countries and the Rhineland to southern Germany and Salzburg, where it is manifest in the Cutbercht Gospels and the Kremsmünster Gospels. The Northumbrian style, which accounts for the Island cruciform pages, initial types, varieties of interlace, zoomorphic patterns, fretwork, spirals, and figure work at Trier-Echternach, combined with continental and Byzantine elements at Trier to produce such continental works as the Kesselstadt Gospels.

Although the Island elements had little effect on the antique revival style of the Palace school, they spread from Trier into the Ada manuscripts of the Rhineland. The limited number of Island elements in the manuscripts of the minor schools of the Rhineland, northwestern and southern Germany as well as at FUlda and St. Gall could have spread from the Ada group and the Rhineland Interlacing and zoomorphic ornament with analogies in Mercian and Canterbury manuscripts appear at Merovingian Corbie and in the schools of northeast France. These elements could have survived to play a role in the illumination of Carolingian Corbie and Franco-Saxon manuscripts, which date to the later ninth century. TheNorthumbrian elements which occur in the Corbie and Franco-Saxon manuscripts are more likely the products of secondary diffusion from the Rhineland, because they do not occur in the earlier Merovingian manuscripts. Whatever may be the case, it is often difficult to say whether a particular motif comes from Northumbria, Mercia, or Canterbury because of the many common motifs shared by these three schools. It can be said, however, that the interlace, whatever the school, has a basic Coptic or Oriental source, which was modified by Island interlace drawn from Romano-British pavements and the filigree work of the Anglo-Saxons. The zoomorphs, in turn, go back to the animals of the Mediterranean inhabited vine scroll, which were modified by native British art, to Romano-British animals, which were elaborated by the Anglo-Saxons in their jewellery, and by the Kelts in the Book of Durrow,

and to Germanic animals, which were introduced through the channels of Migration art. It must be strongly emphasized that the Island elements which reached Carolingian illumination were already three or four stages removed from their ultimate sources. Not only had they undergone much elaboration in the British Isles, but once they reached the continent they were transformed by both the antique revival style and Germanic taste. This very process of transformation, which gave the Island motifs a continental flavour, gradually brought their extinction everywhere except in the manuscripts of the isolated Franco-Saxon scriptoria. Those few elements which escaped destruction were converted into the floralized interlace which characterized the later manuscripts of Corbie and St. Gall.

Outside the lands which were settled by the Germans there is little apparent Germanic or Island influence. The manuscripts of Reims and Metz are wholly free of Northern elements, while those of Tours, which must have been brought by Alcuin, have only a few Island ornamental elements, which play a completely subordinate role in an ornamentation dominated by Mediterranean and Oriental elements. The acceptance or rejection of German or Island elements in the end depended upon the taste of the artist. While the scribes who were descendants of the old provincial population retained a balanced and proportional treatment of ornamentation, and even when they accepted Island elements, as at Tours, treated them with restraint, the German

artist insisted upon an ornamental elaboration in keeping with the fancies of his Northern artistic taste.

Although the Island and Germanic elements disappeared from Carolingian art under the impact of the revival style, German taste continued to make itself felt in manuscript illumination, ivory carving, and metalwork. Once the Germans had grasped the new principles of figure construction, the figure poses, the schemes of proportion, and the principles of composition of Mediterranean art, they transformed these as well as their own older art to create the full Carolingian style. This style, which swept away or transmuted the frankly Northern elements, can be seen in the later manuscripts of Trier and the Ada group. By the year 840 it had reached Salzburg, Fulda, and St. Gall, leaving only the isolated Franco-Saxon school to carry on the old tradition. In the west at Metz, Reims, and Tours, where the Mediterranean tradition was deeply rooted the art of the antique revival was carried to its logical conclusion in manuscripts like the Drogo Sacramentary, the Utrecht Psalter, and the Great Bibles of Tours.

This survey of Carolingian art has attempted to show that the Northern barbaric elements tended to follow certain chronological and geographical patterns. Manuscripts, metalwork and even sculpture tend to show that the preference for Northern elements of technique, motif, and style were restricted to the Germanic lands of the Carolingian realm. Furthermore it can be

shown that they had hardly more than a surface effect in the older Romance areas. These Northern elements, which were derived from Germanic sources, which in turn were frequently adaptations of Mediterranean and Steppe motifs and techniques, and from Island sources, which had Anglo-Saxon, Romano-British, and Keltic as well as Eastern Mediterranean elements, were strong only in the art, of the late eighth and early ninth centuries. After the first quarter of the ninth century they were displaced or transformed by antique and eastern elements, which played the leading role in the Carolingian renaissance. The art of the German area with its barbaric and Island elements as well as the conglomerate art current in the Romance areas in the last chaotic days of Merovingian rule was given cohesion by the antique revival. The catalyst which was to give all Carolingian art its universality of style was the conscious return to antique principles which forced the various arts inherited from the Merovingian period into a universally acceptable pattern. This very process, which brought not only the submergence of the barbaric motifs and forms but the transformation of Merovingian art, was the major task of the Carolingian period. The ninth century assembled the materials for the Romanesque synthesis. It organized a heterogeneous inheritance of styles, techniques, motifs, and iconographic themes into a tentatively unified whole. In the course of this process the Northern barbaric elements assumed an integral position within Western art. Although there was much overlapping and interpenetra-

tion of antique and Northern elements, the Carolingian age succeeded in creating a form of artistic expression which was to make possible the artistic unity of Romanesque and Gothic Christendom. While the synthesis was not to be completedy achieved until the Romanesque period, the first phase was complete by the end of the ninth century when the Robertians appeared in Fnance in 888 and the Ottonians in Germany in 911. The tenth century, which was swept by Byzantine and Oriental influences, brought the transmutation of the embryonic Carolingian forms into the living Romanesque art of the eleventh century.

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Annex: Frequency Tables on Occurrence of Babbaric Elements

Architecture and Sculpture

Type	Place	Date	Cloisonné	Kerbschnitt	Interlace	Remarks
Arch	Monastery at Pental, St. Samson de la Roque (Eure)	IX		X		
Arch	Church at Distré near Saumur	IX	X			
Arch	Angers	X	X			
Capital	Germigny-des-Prés	E IX			X	hoop
Capital	Chivy	IX	X			
Pilaster	Flavigny	IX				Floral
Pilaster	Cravant	IX			X	Knotted
Panel	Auxerre	865			X	Knotted
Panel	Reims				X	Circular
Panel	St. Goesmes	886			X	Circular
Panel	Dijon	IX			X	Knotted
Panel	Romainmôtier	IX			X	Plaited
Panel	Chur	IX			X	Knotted
Panel	Schiannis	IX			X	hoop + Knotted
Panel	Zurich				X	Plaited
Pilaster	Montmajour				X	
Panel	Vence				X	Circular
Panel	Volvic				X	Plaited
Panel	Marseille (Musée Borely)				X	Circular
Panel	Vienne				X	Circular
Panel	St. Guilhem-du-Desert				X	Circular
Panel	Arles (Museum)				X	Circular
Panel	Le Puy (Museum)				X	Circular
Slab	Bourg. St. Andéol	c 873			X	Plaited
Slab	Cimiez	775-800			X	Circular
Slab	Angers				X	Circular
Stucco	Germigny-des-Prés	E IX			X	Circular
Stucco	Disentis			X		
Stucco	Mals	IX			X	Plaited

Metalwork and Ivories

Type	Object	Date	Elements						Remarks
			Inset Stone	Filigree	Cloisonne	Kerbschnitt	Interlace	Zoomorph	
Metalwork									
Chalice	Kremsmünster Chalice	777-88				X	X	X	Stylized Figures
Reliquary	Enger Reliquary (Berlin Schlossmuseum)	785-807	X		X	X		X	"
Book Cover	Older Lindau Cover (New York, Morgan Collection)	±800	X		X		X	X	"
Antependium	St. Ambrogio (Milan)	835	X	X					
Reliquary	Pepin Reliquary (Conques)	817-38	X	X					
Book Cover	Lower Cover of Psalter of Charles the Bald (Paris)	860-70	X	X					
Book Cover	Upper Cover of Psalter of Charles the Bald (Paris)	860-70	X						
Book Cover	Codex aureus of St. Emmeran (Munich)	870	X	X					Excessive Ornamental Elaboration
Book Cover	Lindau Ashburnham Cover (New York, Morgan Collection)	880	X						"
Altar	Altar of Arnulf (Munich)		X	X					"
Book Cover	Evangelium longum (St. Gall)	890+	X						Plastic
Book Cover	Gospels of St. Gozlin (Nancy)	X							"
Ivories									
Diptych	Geneols-Eldeven Ivory (Brussels)	800					X		Fretwork.
Plaque	Victoria and Albert Ivory	IX						X	Vine Scroll
Plaque	Munich Ivory	IX							Vine Scroll
Book Cover	Evangelium longum (St. Gall)	IX							Stylized Figures

Manuscripts

Style	School and Manuscript	Date	Elements												Remarks
			Inset Stone	Cloisonne	Filigree	Interlace	Knotwork	Cornerknot	Interlace Terminal	Zoomorph	Zoomorph Terminal	Spiral	Fret	Geometric	
School of Trier-Echternach															
M.	Echternach Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat 9389)	Mid VIII				X	X	X	X	X	X	X			Stylized Figures
M	Kesselstadt Gospels (Trier, Domschatz, 61 (134))	775				X	X	X	X	X	X	X			"
	Sta Maria ad Martyres Gospels (Trier Stadtbibliothek. Cod. 23)	±800	Painterly Style				X		X		X		X		
	Tegernsee Gospels (Munich, Staatsbibliothek. Cod. lat 19501)	±800	X				X								
School of Salzburg															
M.	Cutbercht Gospels (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek. Cod. 1224)	770-80				X	X	X	X	X					Stylized Figures
M	Codex millenarius (Kremsmünster, Stifts bibliothek. C.I.M I)	±800				X									"
	S. Johannes Chrysostomus.. (Vienna National bibliothek. Cod. 1007)	EIX	Painterly Style												"
A	Astronomical Codex (Vienna, National bibliothek, Cod. 387)	IX													
A	Astronomical Codex (Munich, Staatsbibliothek Cod. lat. 210)	IX													
Palace School															
A	Gospels of Charlemagne (Vienna Schatzkammer)	EIX	X												
A	Aachen Gospels (Aachen, Domschatz)	EIX	X												
A	Xanten Gospels (Brussels Bibliothèque royale. 18723)	EIX													
A	Cleve Gospels (Berlin. Staatsbibliothek. lat. theol. fol. 260)	EIX													
Adalgodescalc School															
	Godescalc Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Nouv. acquis 1203)	781	X			X								X	Byzantine Island
A	St. Martin-aux-Champs (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Cod 599)	EIX	X			X	X		X		X		X	X	
A	St. Riquier Gospels (Abbeville, Bibliothèque de la Ville. MS 4)	790-814							X						
A	Harleian Gospels (British Mus. H. 2788)	EIX	X			X	X		X		X				
A	St. Médard Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale. lat. 8850)	827				X							X		
A	Trier Gospels (Trier, Stadtbibliothek 22)														
A	Metz Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale. lat. 8849).														
A.	St. Denis Gospels (Paris, Bibliotheque nationale. lat. 9387								X						
A	Psalter of Charlemagne (Vienna, National bibliothek. 1861)					X									

Manuscripts

Style	School and Manuscripts	Date	Elements												Remarks
			Inset Stone	Cloisonne	Filigree	Interlace	Knotwork	Counterchange	Interlace Terminal	Zoomorph	Zoomorph Terminal	Spiral	Fret	Geometric	
Ada-Godescalc School															
A	Lorsch Gospels (Krakau)								X					X	Naturalization
A	Gospels of St. Martin in Mainz (Gotha Landesbibliothek. Cod. I. 21)	IX								X	X				Painterly
School of Fulda															
N.A	Ingolstadt Gospels (Munich, Universitätsbibliothek. Cod. 29)	EIX				X					X		X		
A	Hrabanus Maurus (Vienna, National-bibliothek Cod. 652. Vat. lat 124)	840	Completely Antique												
A	Vatican Agrimensoria (Pal. lat. 1564)														
A	St. Gumbert Gospels (Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek. Cod. 141)														
A	Würzburg Gospels (Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek. M.th.66	870													
St. Gall School															
Wolfcoz Group (841-865)															
A	Wolfcoz Psalter (St. Gall, Stiftsb. Cod. 20)	845							X		X				
A	Cod. 367 (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek)								X						
A	Oxford Sacramentary (Bodl. D.I.20)														
A	Sacramentary (Vienna, National-bibliothek. Cod. 1815)	850													Fish lettering
Folchard Group (865-872)															
A	Folchard Psalter (St. Gall. Stiftsb. Cod. 23)								X		X				
A	Cod. 77 (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek)						X								
A	Cod. 37 (Geneva, Universitätsbibliothek)								X						
A	Cod. 83 (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek)								X						
A	St. Polten Psalter (Stifts Gottweig)								X						
A	Lectionary (Zurich, Stadtbibliothek)								X						
Sintram Group (872-920)															
A	Psalterium aureum (St. Gall. Stiftsbibliothek. Cod. 22)	872-83 890-920							X						
A	Evangelium longum (St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek. Cod. 14)	890							X						
A	Gospels (Einsiedeln. Stiftsbibl. No 17)								X						
A	Gospels (Munich. Staatsbibl. CLM 22311)								X						
A	Gospels (Zürich, Stadtbibliothek. MS. 13)								X						
A	Gundis Codex (St. Gall. Stiftsbibl. Cod. 54)								X						
Rhenish Manuscripts															
A	Pauli Epistolae (Düsseldorf, Landesbibliothek. A 44)	IX-X													
A	Rome Martyrology (Vatican, Pal. lat. 834)														

Manuscripts

Style	School and Manuscript	Date	Elements												Remarks
			Inset Stone	Cloisonné	Filigree	Interlace	Knotwork	Convex Knot	Interlace Terminal	Zoomorph	Zoomorph Terminal	Spiral	Fret	Geometric	
The High Manuscripts															
A	Verdun Sacramentary (Munich, Staatsbibliothek. Cod. lat. 10077)	4 IX-X													
A	Gospels (Köln, Dombibliothek. Cod 14)					X	X		X		X				
Northwest German Manuscripts															
A	Gospels of Presbyter Samuel (Quedlinburg - Mashingen)	Mid IX									X				
A	Abdinghof Gospels (Hessel, Landesbibliothek, Cod. theol. fol. 60)	X													
A	Wolfenbüttel Gospels (Wolfenbüttel Landesbibliothek. Aug. 2187)	X													
South German Manuscripts															
A	Schäftlarn Gospels (Munich, 17011)	854-75									X				
A	Weltenburg Gospels (Vienna, National bibliothek. Cod. 1234)														
A	Innichen Gospels (Innsbruck, Universitäts bibliothek, Cod. 484)														
A	Wolfenbüttel Gospels (Vienna, National bibliothek, Cod. 2687)														
A	Psalter of Ludwig the German (Berlin Staatsbibliothek. theol. lat. fol. 58)														
A	Reichenau Sacramentary (Leipzig Stadtbibliothek. Cod. CXC)														
The Franco-Saxon School															
	Second Bible of Charles the Bald (Paris Bibliothèque nationale. lat. 2)	Mid IX				X	X	X	X	X	X				
	Gospels of Francis II (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale. lat. 257)					X		X	X	X	X				
	Gospels of St. Vaast (Arras, Bibliothèque de la Ville. MS. 1045)					X	X		X	X	X				
	Sacramentary of St. Thierry (Reims, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS. 213)					X					X				
	Gospels (Leyden University. MS 58)								X						
	Sacramentary of St. Denis (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale. lat. 2290)					X									
	Sacramentary of the Mans (Le Mans, Bibliothèque de la Ville. MS 77)								X						
	Egerton Gospels (British Museum. Eg. 768					X			X		X				
	Gospels (Cologne Museum)					X									
	Egmond Gospels (Hague Royal Library)					X					X				
	Psalter of Louis the German (Berlin Staat bibliothek, lat. theol. fol. 58										X				Celtic Style

Manuscripts

Style	School and Manuscript	Date	Elements												Remarks
			Inset Stone	Cloisonné	Filigree	Interlace	Knotwork	Convex Knot	Interlace Terminal	Zoomorph	Zoomorph Terminal	Spiral	Fret	Geometric	
The Franco-Saxon School															
	Psalter (Wolfenbüttel, Landesbibliothek. Aug. 17)							X							Chaotic Style
	Echternach Sacramentary (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 9433)								X						"
School of Corbie															
A	Psalter of Charles the Bald (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat 1152)	Mid IX	X												
A	Codex aureus of St. Emmeran (Munich, Staatsbibliothek. Cod. lat. 14000)	870							X					X	Excessive Ornament
A	Bible of San Callisto (Rome, St. Pauls-without-the-Walls)								X		X				
A	Sacramentary of Metz (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 1141)		X						X						
A	Gospels of St. Aure (Paris) Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. MS. 1171)								X						
A	Gospels of Colbert (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale. lat. 324)								X						
A	Claude Fanchet Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 270)								X						
A	Nomantola Sacramentary (Paris Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 2292)								X						
A	Rodrade Sacramentary (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale. lat. 1050)							X	X		X				
School of Reims															
A	Epernay Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Epernay. MS. 172)	816-35													
A	Clove Gospels (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek. lat. theol. fol. 260)	825-50													
A	Loisel Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 17968	E. Mid IX													
A	Blois Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale. lat. 265)														
A	Harleian Gospels (British Museum Harl. 2791 & 2826)														
A	Psalter (Utrecht University Library 32)	832													
School of Metz															
A	Drogo Sacramentary (Paris, Bibliotheque nationale. Lat. 9428)	826-55													
A	Gospels of Metz (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale. lat. 9383)														
A	Gospels of Louis the Fair (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale. lat. 9388)														

Manuscripts

Style	School and Manuscript	Date	Elements												Remarks
			Inset Stone	Cloisonné	Filigree	Interlace	Knotwork	Convex Knot	Interlace Terminal	Zoomorph	Zoomorph Terminal	Spiral	Fret	Geometric	
School of Tours															
	Alcuin Period (796-804)														
	Bible (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek. Cod. 75)									X					
	Gospels (Paris, Biblio. nat. lat. 266)									X					
	Gospels (British Museum. Harl. 2790)									X					
	Psalter (British Museum. Harl. 2793)														
	Adalbald Gospels (Paris, Bibliotheque nationale, lat. 17227)														
	Freedegise Period (804-834)														
A	Gospels of St. Gauzelin (Nancy Cath.)					X		X							
A	Bible (Zürich, Stadtbibliothek. Cod. I)					X		X							
A	Bible (Bamberg. landesbibliothek. A II 5)					X		X							
A	Gospels (Bern, Stadtbibliothek 3-4)					X		X							
A	Old Testament (British Museum. Harl 2805)					X									
A	Old Testament (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale. lat. 11519 C8)					X									
A	Bible (Basel. University hibvary AN I 3)					X									
A	Gospels (Stuttgart, landesbibliothek 40)					X									
A	Gospels (British Museum. Add. 11848)					X									
A	Gospels (Morgan Collection. New York)					X									
	Adelhard Period (834-843)														
A	Lothair Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 266)					X		X							
A	Ravigo Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 3)					X		X							
A	Gospels (Basel University II 11)					X		X							
A	Gospels (Heiligenvad hibvary 21)					X		X							
A	Moutier-Grandval Bible (British Museum, Add. 10546)					X			X						
	Rainaud Period (843-845)														
A	Ragenaldus Sacramentary Autun. Bibl. de la Ville. MS. 19)					X		X	X		X				
	Vivian Period (845-851)														
A	Gospels of Prüm (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek. lat. theol. fol. 730)							X	X						
A	First Bible of Charles the Bald (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale. lat 1)							X	X						
A	Arithemetica of Boethius (Bamberg landesbibliothek H.J. III. 12)					X		X							
A	Gospels of DuFay (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale. lat. 9385)														

Manuscripts 8

Style	School and Manuscripts	Date	Elements													Remarks
			Inset Stone	Cloisonné	Filigree	Interlace	Knotwork	Cornerknot	Interlace Terminal	Zoomorph	Zoomorph Terminal	Spiral	Fret	Geometric		
School of Tours																
Late Period (851-)																
A	Beatty Gospels (Houdon. Beatty Coll)					X		X								
A	Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 47)															
A	Le Mans Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale lat. 261)															
A	Tours Sacramentary (Tours, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS. 184)															

Nils Åberg is probably right in assuming that interlace was elaborated, but not invented, by the Lombards after their arrival in Italy and passed on by them to the Germans north of the Alps. In this case the interlacing zoomorphic forms would have evolved from the impact of Mediterranean interlace on Style I animal forms. These interlacing zoomorphic patterns would have spread through the Alpine passes to the Burgundians, Alemanni, Ripuarian Franks, and Anglo-Saxons, and north to Scandinavia.[1] In Middle Europe, the interlace motifs and zoomorphic forms were given an increasingly elaborate treatment on chased, cast, carved, and gilded fibulae, belt buckles, and strap ends. Whatever may be the true origin of Style II and interlace in German barbaric ornament, they do illustrate the community of culture among the Germans during the seventh century.

The linkage between the cultures of the Lombards, Burgundians, Alemanni, and Franks was provided by the trade routes leading north from Italy through the Alpine passes to the

[1] N. Åberg, The Occident and the Orient in the Art of the Seventh Century, Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien Handlingar, Del 56. 1-3 (1943-47). Aberg's position is supported by E.T. Leeds, Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology (1936), pp. 61-2. and H. Zeiss, "Hessische Brandbestattungen der jüngenen Merowingerzeit", Germania (1934), XVIII, pp. 279 ff. W. Holmqvist, Kunstprobleme der Merowingerzeit, Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Del, 47 (1939), pp. 94 ff. maintains that the interlace of Style II was not borrowed from Italy because Lombard objects with Mediterranean interlace elements did not penetrate north of the Alps. His conclusion is that Coptic influence spread into the West via the Rhone valley. Once in Middle Europe it would have inspired the German interlace which would in turn have produced the Style II ornament. He strongly objects to any theory of transmission of interlace via the Alpine passes and Italy.